

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1872.

## The Week.

THE principal event of the week has been the flurry in Wall Street, which commenced by a "corner" in Erie stock, and ended in an attempted "lock-up" of greenbacks, which was frustrated by the refusal of the Bank of Commerce to pay greenbacks over the counter on a certified check. At this season of the year the resources of the New York banks are severely tasked to supply the demands of the West for money "to move the crops," and it is therefore the season most favorable for "lock-ups," "corners," and other performances of a similar nature. The greatness of this strain may be inferred from the fact that the general deposits in the New York banks have been over thirty-seven millions less during the past week than during the corresponding week of last year, and the excess over the reserve of twenty-five per cent. of circulation required by law was only \$1,599,700, against \$2,232,525 in the corresponding week of last year. The result has been, of course, extreme "tightness" of money, or, in plain English, great difficulty in borrowing it for the legitimate demands of business.

While things were in this state, Jay Gould, H. N. Smith, and other worthies who have, ever since the famous "Black Friday," been acting together, were "short" on Erie, and found themselves threatened with serious difficulty in making their deliveries, owing to the fact that a very large quantity of Erie stock was held, though quite legitimately, by German bankers in this city, who had "let in" Mr. Daniel Drew, who was joyfully rolling up money by lending the stock to the beleaguered "shorts." Under these circumstances, there was nothing for the Gould clique but to make a "corner" in money, and thus force the holders of Erie into the market. So, having plenty of stock of one sort or another, they sold out, took the certified checks received in payment to the various banks, drew out the greenbacks, and put them away. They were engaged in a similar operation in gold when Mr. Boutwell appeared on the scene, in his character of the American Jupiter, and announced that he would sell \$4,000,000, but was appalled by the reply from the speculators that they would buy every cent of it, so he prudently put his thunderbolts away, and sold only one million. They then turned their attention to greenbacks exclusively, and were carrying everything before them, Smith, one of the chiefs, carrying off \$800,000 in one haul, in a *coupé* hired for the raid, until they came to the Bank of Commerce, which refused to pay its certified check, except through the Clearing House, and the combination thereupon, temporarily at least, broke down. The Clearing House, the next day, refused to pass a resolution endorsing the Bank of Commerce, and that bank shortly after paid over the amount of the check with costs. Most respectable men think that its action was morally right, but everybody acknowledges that it was legally wrong, and that to establish the precedent that a bank might refuse payment of its checks because it thought the holder was going to make a bad use of the money would be very dangerous. At this writing comparative calm reigns in the Street, though there is much indignation. The combination has unquestionably failed, and the "operators" are said to be trying to drop it.

When the question, How can the community be protected against these acts of brigandage—for they are nothing else—in future? comes up for discussion, one finds the widest difference of opinion. One thing is plain, and that is, that complete protection cannot be furnished as long as stocks are bought and sold, or the quantity of money is limited, and there are clever scoundrels among us who

are indifferent to public opinion. The scarcity of money at this season of course furnishes them with the occasion for their operations, but how is money to be made plentiful at the season when everybody most needs it? Our able and careful contemporary, the *Financier*, suggests the removal of the legal obligation on the part of banks to maintain the 25 per cent. of legal-tender reserve, pointing out that it furnishes no real protection either to depositors or bill-holders; but then this is, after all, only putting the point of danger twenty-five per cent. further off. There would under any system be inevitably a moment when at this season the lending capacity of the banks would be forced to its last limits, and this reached, why is not the opportunity for a "corner" as tempting to an unblushing scoundrel as ever?

The financial sky is, however, still somewhat cloudy, owing to the condition of affairs in London, where the Bank of England is advancing its rate of discount after a long period of ease, caused, says the *Economist*, by the fact that London is now the centre of international payments to an unprecedented extent, and to make these payments an amount of money has had to be kept there never before found to be necessary. In this amount is about \$100,000,000 due by the French to the German Government, the withdrawal of which has begun within the past week. As long as this great hoard was lying idle, of course discount was low; but the German drafts now begin to make themselves felt, \$2,640,000 in coin having been withdrawn from the Bank of England, although, if the last Cable telegrams speak truly, some "leading bankers" in London declare that the advance in discount is due to the low price of sterling exchange in New York.

The only important incident in the canvass is the acceptance by Governor Curtin of the Liberal nomination for the Constitutional Convention in Pennsylvania; but his letter is devoted solely to questions of State politics. He advocates the election of Buckalew, but does not mention Greeley's name, and says, in answer to the objection that the support of the Liberal State ticket will affect the national contest, "that he will vote for honest government in October, and meet the Presidential issue when it comes before the people in accordance with his long-settled convictions." The canvass is growing livelier every day in this city. The *New York Times* announces its intention to publish "a campaign edition" of that paper, which will contain, among other interesting particulars, "some account of Senator Fenton's career as a reformer," which it explains elsewhere as an allusion to his having been "put in jail" at some time "for a dishonest use of other people's money." This has led the *Tribune*, in reply, to hint at the possibility of unsavory disclosures with regard to one actual United States Senator, one ex-Senator, one ex-Governor for two terms, one ex-United States District Attorney, one ex-Collector of the Port, and to threaten "a pretty tale" with regard to one ex-Naval Officer. If all this comes out, what a fine odor there will be "inside politics."

The Louisville Democrats declare they have received a letter from Mr. O'Connor, in which he says distinctly that he does accept the Louisville nomination, but they refuse to publish it on the ground that it is largely devoted to personal matters. But they are making preparations to open the canvass and prepare an electoral ticket in the various States, and several of the Irish papers have already "hauled down the Greeley and Brown flag," and are declaring for O'Connor and Adams. The ticket will undoubtedly do the Sage some damage, but the chances are that he will be disposed of without help from this quarter.

The "managers" have, it appears, come to the conclusion that the old electioneering rule, which imposes silence on a candidate for

the Presidency, ought not to hold good in Mr. Greeley's case, and that under all the circumstances it is better to loose him, and let him say his say in his own way, particularly as the canvass sorely needs enlivening. So he has started on a Western tour, and is making speeches as he goes. At Pittsburg, he dwelt on the necessity of peace and reconciliation between North and South; at Cincinnati, he made first an "exposition address," which was a laudation of industry and invention in the style of an essay, and another less formal in commendation of harmony. He also delivered a "financial address," in which he declared that "corners" were simply "symptoms of financial weakness," and condemned severely the state of things which calls for "the Secretary of the Treasury, with his horn of plenty, to let loose something or other," and declared that "he wanted to see a state of things where the Government is not continually called on to help us out." It ought to be observed here, in illustration of the unblushing audacity, to use a mild word, which has characterized Mr. Greeley's canvass ever since the nomination, that he is himself the most ardent and powerful advocate which perhaps this or any country has ever seen, of the industrial and financial system under which the Government is continually called on to help merchants, brokers, and manufacturers out of all kinds of difficulties. Mr. Greeley, in continuation, said that as regarded the resumption of specie payments, all he had ever maintained was that five years ago, when we had \$125,000,000 gold in the Treasury, and a surplus revenue of \$100,000,000, we might have resumed, and that he now thinks gold and currency ought to be paid out of the Treasury as fast as possible, and left in the hands of the business-men, who know how to use it better than the Treasury—which is sound financial doctrine. But he meekly added, "I am not a dogmatist"—an assertion which must produce great hilarity among readers of the *Tribune*.

At Covington, Mr. Greeley again praised farming; at Newport, he praised Henry Clay and spoke in laudatory terms of reconciliation. At Louisville, he condemned the "unjust prejudices" of the colored people, some of whom he said thought he (Mr. Greeley) was "a negro trader"; maintained that the Liberals were their friends, advised the Kentucky whites to educate them, denounced disenfranchisement, and praised amnesty. Speaking of his bygone hostility to slavery, he meekly confessed "perhaps this was a mistake." At Indianapolis, he talked in the same strain. The speeches are very characteristic; would be very shrewd if they were not reported, and, considered side by side with his past preachings in the *Tribune*, are, on all points except amnesty, amazingly and amusingly barefaced.

We have refrained from noticing the scandal concerning the Crédit Mobilier to which the *Sun* first gave currency, until all the parties to the controversy should have had a chance to speak for themselves. This is always a prudent course to take in dealing with the *Sun's* charges, but especially so when, as in this case, the witness on whom it relies has not a reputation for entire trustworthiness. It was, too, a little difficult to believe, on the mere evidence of a pencilled memorandum of Col. M'Comb's—incorrectly reproduced, as it now appears, by the *Sun's* reporter—that the very cream of the Republican party, including Speaker Colfax, Mr. Blaine, and Senator Wilson, had been bribed by Mr. Oakes Ames into lending their support to the schemes of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Mr. Boutwell, moreover—nor was he the only one of those implicated—had on several occasions notoriously opposed the company both in Congress and as Secretary of the Treasury. There were other inconsistencies and improbabilities which would have been sufficient to justify the Congressmen named in taking no notice of the accusation, except that Mr. Ames's letters fairly warranted the inference that he contemplated using the stock of the Crédit Mobilier in the manner alleged, though they only mentioned "assigning" a certain number of shares to a certain number of States, and that Ames had "spoken to Fowler" about his shares,

and had not yet spoken to Bayard—as M'Comb apparently wished him to do. Mr. Blaine was the first to give a flat denial to the charge against himself, and he has been followed by Messrs. Dawes, Wilson, Colfax, and Garfield with equal explicitness. Mr. Ames, on his part, has publicly assured his constituents that he "never gave a share of stock of that or any other company, directly or indirectly, to any member of Congress," and that he, as well as all the executive officers of the Crédit Mobilier and several of its largest stockholders, had already answered to the same effect under oath, in the suit which M'Comb is now engaged in prosecuting against them in Pennsylvania. He does not, however, deny the authenticity of the letters attributed to him, as, we suppose, he cannot; and he does not, as he might easily have done, and as, we must say, he ought to do, explain away the appearance in them of a readiness to procure legislation corruptly.

The London correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* of this city makes the statement, speaking of a recent blunder of the London *Spectator*, that "the *Nation*, apropos of the impending election, invented a passage of a pretended letter from Mr. Stanley to the *Herald*, in which he represents Dr. Livingstone as saying," etc. Now, there is no excuse for this kind of talk, and we submit that the editor of the *Advocate* ought either not to have published it or to have corrected it. The *Nation* never said or insinuated that the joke it published about Dr. Livingstone had appeared in a letter of Mr. Stanley to the *Herald*. In commenting on the filthiness of the canvass in our issue of Aug. 2, we quoted the passage in question from a country paper, the name of which we have forgotten, as an illustration of "an occasional bit of relief for the newspaper reader," and as "an indication that we are not all in such desperate earnest as might be supposed"; or, in other words, as a campaign joke. The theory that we took it from a letter of Stanley's to the *Herald* was invented by the *Spectator*, by some queer mental process which might be worth examination if the *Spectator's* failure to see that it was a joke did not make the whole subject too mysterious. The joke was not the *Nation's*, was plainly not the *Nation's*, and nobody with even as much capacity for taking jokes as Sydney Smith's Scotchman could have supposed that it was.

Among the signs of the times which are worth notice is this: that at a Republican meeting at Montague, Mass., last week, at which the Governor presided, speeches were made by him and Senator Wilson, Colonel Moffitt of New York, and General Coggeshall and General Butler, and every one of the first four took occasion to make complimentary allusions to the last, who received an uproarious welcome when he presented himself. His adhesion to the party in the present trying crisis has, it is admitted, greatly "strengthened" him, and it now begins to be acknowledged, too, that his "blackguard canvass" last year not only did not "hurt him," but made his success, when he tries again, tolerably certain. In fact, there is every indication that he is one of the rising worthies who are to give us "reform within the party." The Sentimentalists, the Labor Reformers, the State Police and the militia all stand by him, and admire him with greater or less fidelity—a fact which deserves to be contemplated side by side with one other—that James Fisk, Jr., was "a popular man" in this city, and that hundreds of workmen came back from his funeral with tear-dimmed eyes. We mention this by way of giving reformers of all kinds a clear idea of the nature of the work they have before them. We ought to add, "in this connection," as the reporters say, that Mr. George H. Butler has really and at last been removed from his consulate, but not until he had taken part in a shooting affray. His insults to the American missionaries, and his love of nude dancing-girls, though exposed months ago, apparently did not "hurt him." There is something pathetic in the deep silence of the Administration press about Casey.



Advices from South Carolina are better than anybody has for some time past been venturing to hope. Not improbably we may see there the defeat and destruction of the Scott-Parker Ring and the election of Mr. Tomlinson, the Bolters' candidate, as governor. Our readers know what that would mean—at least so far as concerns the overthrow of the Ring, which has done more to make the name of the North an offence in the nostrils of the South than any ten army corps we ever sent there. And so far as concerns the success of Mr. Tomlinson, we can assure them of our own knowledge that his election they may heartily desire as being the success of a capable and honorable man who thoroughly knows the Ring, and of a perfectly sound Republican. It is not our habit to have much to say about local elections; but there are aspects of this South Carolina election in which it is seen to be anything but local; in which it is seen to be of even more than national importance. We do not know how good Republicans, or good Democrats either, who value our good name as a people and believe in perpetuating our free institutions, could better use their influence or their money, so far as money is legitimately used in political contests, than in helping to bring the Scott gang to justice, or, at the least, to take the State out of their hands. As we say, there is a fair prospect that this may be done; but the work of doing it will be hard, and the time in which to do it is not long, the election being only three weeks distant. We will add that a question of interest in the struggle is whether the Southern whites are still so hostile to the North as to "prefer a South Carolina thief to a Yankee"—to use the language of one of Governor Scott's white constituents. The negro vote is divided, Mr. Tomlinson being known to the negroes as a long-time friend of theirs, and his election depends on the action of the white voters of the State.

The meeting of the three Emperors at Berlin has begun, continued, and ended without any light being thrown on its objects beyond a vague intimation that it was intended simply to signify the return of peace and good-will between the three states, and the frank acceptance by their governments of the order of things brought about by the wars of 1866 and 1870. There has been an enormous amount of speculation about the affair, but this is all that any one even pretends to have discovered. The meeting was, as usual, accompanied by a great military display, and there is at this moment not a country in Europe which does not seem to have gone into soldiering with greater zest than ever before. The International has been holding a convention at the Hague, which has in some degree played the part of the spectre at the royal feast, but human nature has been at its old tricks even among the "regenerators" of our corrupt society. It appears now that the Federal Council or General Council of the body is composed of "tyrants" and arbitrary persons, indifferent to the rights of man, and it has to be overthrown, and something new set up in its place. Some of the American delegates, who, we judge, were "Pantarchists," were refused admittance. Curiously enough, there was only one Irish delegate, and yet not curiously either, for the broader views of "humanity" have never found favor even with Fenians.

The tact of Burgomaster Fischer of Augsburg in his speech welcoming the Crown Prince of Prussia to the hospitality of that city, drew from the future Emperor of Germany an important assurance against imperial centralization. In reply, the Crown Prince said: "To all that you have said I give my most hearty assent. Yes, you have expressed what is the Emperor's conviction as well as my own. Each constituent part of the German Empire should remain in its every peculiarity just what it was; this will invest the great common fatherland with a true consecration; this will furnish the best cement to that which we have wrested from the bloody battlefield." These words had the more significance from the fact that the Crown Prince of Prussia had personally led the Bavarian troops

in the campaign in France, and had publicly complimented their valor and efficiency. In yielding themselves to the leadership of Prussia, the smaller states of the empire have no reason to apprehend the fate which the King of Hanover brought upon himself by his Austrian alliance in 1866. The social culture of Germany requires that she shall retain her smaller capitals as seats of learning and art, and her true political development must come through unity of aim with individuality of expression, combination of interests without centralization of power.

Meanwhile, the church-and-state ferment continues without abatement. The Old Catholics are once more in session, at Munich. The Catholic riot at Essen, which led to a bloody conflict between the mob and the troops, is charged by the Ultramontane press to Bismarck's anti-Jesuit policy; but in reality it was the breaking out of an old sore, and called for desperate remedies. Essen, a seat of manufacturing and mining industries, with a population of over 20,000, lies in the heart of the Cleve-Jülich district, which figured so largely in the Thirty Years' War as the stronghold of Catholicism upon the Lower Rhine. Ever since its incorporation with Prussia this district has been uneasy under the rule of a Protestant dynasty; and of late years the younger clergy and the clerical press, inspired by the Jesuits, have almost made treason to Prussia a test of loyalty to Rome. In the war of 1866 the sympathies of the people were with Austria; and though in 1870-71 they were carried along with the tide of national patriotism, they are to-day more with Rome than with Germany. The ecclesiastics inflamed the people against the Jesuit law; and the rumor that the Jesuits were to be expelled by force, and even carried off at midnight by the police, was enough to raise a mob. The Government promptly sent two battalions of infantry from Düsseldorf to put down the disturbance.

Recent intelligence from China is to the effect that the all-absorbing topic of conversation in official circles is the famous "audience question." The Chinese Emperor, it is well known, claims priority over all other sovereigns, and refuses to receive any foreign ambassador unless he complies with ceremonies significant of that position, which consist in kneeling and striking the forehead on the ground nine times. The representatives of course resist this performance, and none have in consequence as yet been granted an audience. It has, however, been fully explained to the Chinese Government that they must abandon their absurd pretensions of superiority, and, furthermore, that they must notify the nation that they have done so through the *Pekin Gazette*. This they have as yet refused to do, while profuse of promises to discuss the matter, with a view to settlement, so soon as the preparations for the Imperial marriage are completed. But the difficulty of owning themselves beaten stops the way, and, finding the discussion inevitable, they have strongly urged and obtained a postponement until spring. The effect upon the status of foreigners of proclaiming their governments to be of equal rank with that of China is not difficult to estimate, and the mercantile community rightly attach considerable weight to the satisfactory settlement of the question. It is more than half-suspected that at the last moment the Chinese will flatly refuse to entertain the idea. They are rapidly arming the approaches to Tientsin and Taku, forts with Krupp guns having been erected, while the practicable route from the mouth of the Peiho to the former city is lined with rifle-pits. Large contracts have been made for Martini, Dreyse, and other rifles with four German houses at Shanghai. The arsenals are at work day and night, turning out guns and ammunition. Great pains, too, are being taken to train the northern army according to foreign drill. In connection with these preparations, the disposition towards foreigners of Li-hung-chang, Viceroy of Chihli, regarded as the most powerful official in China, excites apprehensions. Curiously enough, he is the patron of the scheme for educating Chinese youth in this country referred to in last week's *Nation*.

### HOW OUR POLITICAL DEMORALIZATION HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT.

FOR the last thirty years—the third of an important century, the measure of a generation of men—the mind of the American people has been turned away from improvement and advancement in matters of government. After the Administration of Webster and Calhoun (nominally that of Tyler), the tariffs of 1842 and 1845, the Bank Bill and the Bankrupt Act, the distribution of the Public Land Fund and the adjustment of the differences with Great Britain, there were forced upon the national mind questions of the gravest character relating to national existence. As a man when his house is on fire has to stop planning improvements and betake himself to the task of putting down the flames, so a people that have foreign wars or internal revolutions on their hands have to give up the study of making that government better, and bestir themselves in the work of keeping it in existence. With the Administration of Polk came the Mexican war—not a prolonged or serious or disastrous war, but enough of one to cause a debt, and push aside for the time the study of the arts of peace. Immediately after the Mexican war the great slavery question came looming up—a darkly spreading and ascending cloud that soon overshadowed the whole political sky. Few men thought that it was to end in war on the one hand, or peaceable disunion on the other, but all men recognized it as a subject of civil contest—a political battle that had to be fought out, though there were not wanting some who wished to put off the decision, and preached and prayed that the problem be committed to the future for solution. As the Administration of Pierce went on, all public speeches, writings, and discussions, all that men spoke and thought in connection with the government, drifted into this maelstrom. Under the Administration of Buchanan came the Border strife in Kansas, and the cloud of slavery began to deepen into the cloud of secession. With such a sky over their heads, it was inevitable that men should think only of the impending storm, though they dreamed not of its extent or its fury, and study little beside it and the Constitution—the supposed arbiter of all national differences—and the extent of its pledges and obligations. At last came the rebellion, followed of course by the difficult questions growing out of the war. These questions, too, were complicated by the training of the American mind and its constitutional reverence. On the one hand was the theory that the insurrectionary States were still States, which were in and could not be got out of the Union; on the other was the practical fact that they were held by force of arms, and inhabited by a dominant people who could not be trusted, and by a subordinate race to whom the national protection was peculiarly pledged; and nine-tenths of the loyal people of the United States cannot yet make up their minds whether the South returned to us as so many constitutional sovereign States or as so much conquered territory. If either view of the case had been decisively adopted, if the nation by common consent had denied to the conquered Southerners citizenship, but assured to them law and order and rights of property and personal protection, through mild yet firm Territorial governments; or if they had cordially welcomed them back into the family of States, and entrusted to the entire society of the South the responsibility of re-establishing and maintaining civil government, it is possible that matters would have much more quickly adjusted themselves. But the American people were not accustomed to deal with conquered territory, and could not bring themselves to establish a system of government bereft of the two great characteristics of their own—*local, self* government. Though preserving form, they sacrificed substance; the rulers were Northern adventurers; the governments, tyrannies forced upon the governed. The experiment with its sequences was enough to fill the public mind, and completed the period of its alienation from the study of advancement, improvement, economy, honesty, and decency in the administration of government.

Reviewing these events, and remembering how small a part of the voters at this Presidential election were voters at the election which overthrew Mr. Clay and elevated Mr. Polk—how trivial, how nearly

extinct the number and the influence of those who voted for Harrison or Van Buren in 1840 (the last election, in fact, where the manner of administering furnished the staple of political discussion)—we see clearly enough how the public mind of to-day has been educated amid civil discords, and how little the study of governing well can have entered into the thoughts of those disposed to act aright. A few centuries earlier, this period, reaching from the annexation of Texas to the overthrow of the South, would have been a period of constant intestine wars. As it is, three wars (counting the Border war of Kansas as one) appear on its record, and of its twenty years one-third may be said to have been given up to war, and the remainder of the period has been filled with the causes and consequences of war.

Just half a century ago (1820), Sydney Smith gave us this piece of information. We reproduce the passage, for it describes most accurately our present condition, and, while every one has read it, few there are who remember it well enough to bring its application home:

“We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory—TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth or covers the back or is placed under the foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth and the waters under the earth; on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home; taxes on the raw material; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite and the drug that restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride; at bed or board—couchant or levant, we must pay. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent., into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed, which has paid 22 per cent., and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Beside the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his fathers, to be taxed no more.”

By “glory” Sydney Smith meant war with all the attendant and consequent evils, from which a nation cannot be exempt, no matter how righteous its cause. During this half-century Great Britain has emerged from its taxed condition, and steadily sought to reduce her taxes to the fewest number of subjects, and to recast them into the simplest forms. During the same half-century we have drifted into the same flood of taxes that we, with Sydney Smith, once derided. Moreover, while we are an ingenious, intelligent people, full of devices and ideas, and duly impressed with the truth that government is for the governed, we have added nothing to the science of government or to the art of governing. Our fathers were greatly in advance of the world, and left a work which yearly grows a greater and greater wonder in the eyes of modern scholars and thinkers. Its influence is felt throughout Europe, where it overthrows dynasties and threatens states. But the influence is from the past and not of the present. The work is our fathers', and not ours. All that we have done has lessened its effect, and made mankind doubt whether great success may not yet be disastrous failure. In the last thirty years, there is no one thing that we can call to mind for which the world is indebted to us. Our postal service, which is our best instrument of government, and in which every member of the community sees that he has a direct and almost daily interest, which, of all our instrumentalities of government, ought to have been advanced, extended, and perfected by the American mind, has borrowed every improvement from other nations. “Cheap postage,” “registered letters,” “money orders,” “postal cards,” are all the product of European thought. Manifestly, if it had not been for European statesmanship our system these thirty years would have stood still. The postal telegraph we are now discussing, but not until Europe devised, demonstrated, and carried out the scheme.

From civil commotions a number of evils spring, and among the first and most inevitable is the demagogue. How a people so well informed of passing events, so given among themselves to discussion,



intelligent if not profound, so noted all the world over for shrewd, practical common-sense—how they can give employment to men in whom they do not believe, and for whom they entertain no little contempt, is a marvel, but susceptible of explanation. It may be laid down as a law that the more closely the common mind devotes itself to affairs of state, the less it is disposed to yield to control. In the great excitements of the recent past, the common mind has had forced upon it subjects of vital import, coming home to every household, and compelling all men to think and to feel. The American people, too, were taught to doubt leadership when a greater race of statesmen, such as Webster, essayed and failed. The old meaning of the term leader was not a charlatan running before a mob, but a directing mind which opened new roads, and impelled men to walk upon them, and which controlled and held the masses back, often against their will. But in a time when every man worked out an impatient conclusion for himself, agreeing substantially with his neighbor's, direction and control became irksome, and people found themselves wanting not great minds to reason, counsel, and control, but obedient agents to carry out the popular instructions. Then the natural demagogue came forth to do what he has done in all lands and ages—to demonstrate the wisdom of what he supposes everybody wants; to promise performance of what everybody asks. The intelligence of the nation has not cared much for his demonstrations, nor valued highly his promises; but on the great questions in which every one has been interested—and since 1860 all the questions of the day have been of this character—people have wanted simply obedience. The promises they have believed so far as to feel assured that the professional politician will never go against what he believes to be the popular will. Hence the apathy as to a politician's character, provided that he be "sound upon the main question." Hence the indifference to real ability, or conscientious conviction, or lofty independence of character. People go to a lawyer for advice, to a physician for help; and when they go on such missions they desire intelligence superior to their own, and integrity upon which they can rely. But of late years, when they go to a professional politician, it is with specific jobs of work to be done as to which they do not want his advice, and care very little for his intelligence. It would be supposed that moral character would be held in some estimation, and that, with obedience, people would prefer decency. They doubtless do, but in times of excitement and confusion men's esteem for moral character is in a manner suspended. We have said that when a man's house is on fire he is apt to lay aside plans for its improvement and try to put the fire out. We may go further, and say that he does not scan closely the characters of those who are helping. Some he knows to be drunkards, and some rogues; here and there he sees an active philanthropist saving the furniture who, he is morally sure, will pocket any small article that comes in his way; yet he does not order them off the premises, but on the contrary shakes hands with the worst, and publishes "a card" of thanks in the county paper.

In time, however, affairs resume their natural conditions. That time is now beginning in America, and the more thoughtful part of society recognize the fact that the questions of the day are questions of statesmanship as to which we need to seek superior knowledge and ability, just as we seek them in our lawyer or our doctor. They see, too, that the fire is over, that pilfering had better be called by its old name of petty larceny, and that it is time to stop hurrahing over the past exploits of the firemen, and, indeed, advise them to go to work in the old-fashioned way to earn an honest living. There is much in the present to provoke censure; but the operating causes of evil are of the past. Society as a political body has sunk during the last thirty years, but through acute diseases and not from natural decay. The common mind has ceased to be educated in political wisdom for a generation, but greater means for educating are at hand than ever existed before.

There are, indeed, social causes affecting the political, which must affect also the result, such as the love of money, the desire for sud-

den wealth, the vulgar weakness for display, the sentimental truce with crime and criminals, and the effeminate withdrawal of the better classes of society from the work and duties of citizenship. Yet, if we turn back the files of a newspaper no further than a year ago, we read that the Committee of Seventy were but breaking ground, and men who hoped most for the establishment of law beginning to ponder seriously whether its re-establishment in New York must not come through force and a vigilance committee. If it had then been predicted that within a single year we should see the Ring broken, Tweed routed and on bail, Sweeny and Connolly skulking from the sight of men, Garvey turned state's evidence, General Barlow in the Attorney-General's office, Mr. Green in the Controller's, and, above all, Cardozo, McCunn, and Barnard swept from the bench, and that all of this would be brought about by the moral uprising of the intelligent minority of the people, there probably are not a hundred men in New York who would not have assigned the prediction to the class of absurd improbabilities. While the work which has been accomplished in this city does not effect a national reformation, nor materially lessen the number of evils that are to be overcome, nor relieve us from the denunciation of what is wicked and base, it shows that there is still a moral power in society which will be effective whenever it is honestly exerted. Undoubtedly many unpleasant truths will be told and reiterated within the next four years; but no one need grow morbid over them, nor doubt the moral reaction that with proper effort and education will sweep away the baser part of our political material, and exact from what remains the decency, industry, and usefulness that we expect in the affairs of private life.

#### LAND AND LABOR IN ENGLAND.

THE agitation of the farm-laborers in England is now universally acknowledged to be a success, if the destruction of the feudal, or, as some have comically called it, the "parental," relation between them and their employers can be called a success. The laborer has shown that he is not the stupid clodhopper he has been so long considered; that he, too, can combine, and organize, and strike, like his manufacturing brother in the great towns. He no longer cares for the farmer's or landlord's favor or charity; he stands on his rights, and by his "rights" he means such concessions as he is able to wring from his employer by refusing to work for him and by hindering others from working for him at seasons when labor is indispensable. He has not only succeeded, however, by the agitation now raging, in raising his wages, but he has revealed the fact that he possesses enormous power over the agricultural industry of the country, and that he is capable of using it whenever he pleases, with the utmost efficiency. Now, agriculture is not a business which will bear strikes as manufactures will do; that is, a farmer cannot suspend his operations in the spring or harvest, as a spinner or iron-master can do, and enter on a fair trial of endurance with the operative. There are two seasons of the year when he must have labor for a reasonable sum, when even a week's delay would be fatal. He has been saved from all anxiety at these periods hitherto partly by the dull, bovine submissiveness to his lot of the English "hind," and partly by the consciousness that if the laborers of one farm, or of a whole parish, did refuse to work, there would be little difficulty in filling their places either permanently or temporarily. But these guarantees have been destroyed by the recent movement. It is plain that the laborer has undergone a great change, and equally plain that the formation of agricultural trades-unions has forced, or will shortly force, each farmer to treat not with the men on his own farm only, but all the laborers in England, whenever he has a dispute about wages or time. What has brought about this change in a portion of the population supposed to be so impervious to outside influences, it is hard to say; probably no one agency in particular. The spectacle of the growing skill and power of the trades-unions in the manufacturing districts have doubtless contributed a great deal to it; but, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* points out, this example would probably have been lost on

the agricultural districts if it was not for the penny press, which by penetrating to every tavern and ale-house has brought the farm-laborer for the first time into actual contact with the new ideas by which the old social organization is now so rudely shaken. The way in which the laborers' movement has been met has not on the whole been very fortunate or promising. The farmers, as a class, have resisted stoutly, and, when threats and defiance have failed, have surrendered sullenly and with bitterness. The clergy as a class have sided with the farmers, one bishop—that of Gloucester, not Ripon, as we erroneously said a few weeks ago—actually having had the folly to recommend the ducking of the leading agitators under the parish pump, thus destroying at a blow the one moral influence which exercises strongest sway over the peasantry. The landlords, too, have either looked on coldly or have given the farmers active and open support. One of them, Mr. Brand, the Speaker of the House of Commons, has come out in defence of the strikers, and has proposed a system of co-operation on his own land, under which he allows laborers to invest their savings in his farm and gives them a share of the profits, thus giving them the benefit of expensive machinery. Lord Derby, also, has taken what may be called the "reasonable" view of the agitation, but as a rule the laborer finds the landed interest arrayed against him. The agitation, too, in the presence of this hostility of the "nobility, gentry, and clergy," has been taking on more and more of a political cast. The ballot is now called for as the necessary guarantee of the laborer's rights, and, of course, it will not be possible to use it for this purpose without making it in some way an instrument for the political abasement of the landholders. For instance, there is already a loud outcry against landholding and clerical magistrates as persons unfitted by their class sympathies and associations to adjudicate in cases in which the laborer is a party.

Behind the laborers' agitation (which is on the surface thus far a question of wages mainly), and serving as a powerful support to it, is the vigorous discussion by the Radical school of politicians of what is known as "the land question," by which is meant the tenure of land in England and the political relation of landowners to the state. This has been attacked from two sides: on the legal side by those who seek simply the limitation of the power of entail, or "settlement" as it is called, still enjoyed by English families; and on the historical side by those who maintain that the manner in which property in the soil is divided in England is not only not natural, but is the result of a usurpation protracted through centuries, by which the tenancy in common, or "village communities," which were the original form of land tenure not in England only, but throughout the world, have been destroyed, to make way for the feudal régime of great estates, with all its attendant evils, and that the road to reform now lies backward. Neither of these assaults is carried on ostensibly in the interest of the laborers' movement, but what a powerful help they lend to it is easily seen.

What will be the effect of all this on country life in England is a question which is interesting in a very high degree to Americans as well as to Englishmen. When we go into our agricultural and scientific schools in this country, and find that very few of the pupils—indeed we might say none—mean to be farmers; or go into the farm-houses, and find how rapidly and generally the young men are forsaking the paternal acres and flying to the great cities; or go into the region of fertile lands, and find how rapidly farms are being transformed into vast factories, worked by machinery, with the aid of a few unskilled laborers of whom the proprietor knows less than of his horses, we hear constant lamentations over the difference between American and English sentiment and habits with regard to country life. England swarms with farm-houses and manor-houses and cottages, whose inhabitants love the ground, live on it, and till it from youth to old age. The dearest ambition of the successful Englishman, we are told, is to get "a place in the country," and make it the scene of all that is most delightful in his family and social life. In the United States, on the other hand, country life is almost as much of an exile to the average man

as it used to be with the nobles of the French court under the old régime. Everybody tries by hook or by crook to escape it, except the fortunate few who, in the country or in the town, can surround themselves with luxury. Now, what renders farming more attractive in England than America is mainly the cheapness and certainty of labor of all kinds. The farmer there has hitherto filled the position simply of a superintendent or capitalist, and had few or no risks or anxieties to encounter except such as arose from the badness of the weather or the diseases of cattle. Make labor uncertain, either as regards wages, supply, or manageability, and farming would undoubtedly become even less attractive in England than here, for it is not lightened there as it is here by the sense of proprietorship in the soil. A great deal of the comfort of an English farmer's life will be gone after he finds that he has to contend with an unruly trades-union before fixing the cost of getting in his harvest, and most of the few attractions which the pursuit now possesses for capitalists would vanish if, in addition to the loss of personal comfort, the returns were made more uncertain than they now are. Moreover, the revolution, whatever its nature may be, which severs political influence from the possession of land and at the same time lessens the amount of social deference it brings with it, will undoubtedly drive most of the landholding gentry into the towns. It is reasonable to expect, too, that the education of the laborers and their children, which is now rapidly beginning, will spread among them also that horror of solitude and love of social distraction and excitement which have made country life disagreeable to so large a proportion of our own population. The example of France and Belgium, where the people cling with such tenacity to their small farms, does not tell against this view, because the peasantry is not educated in these countries. The question is, whether, when you educate the peasantry anywhere, or, in other words, raise the people out of the condition of peasants, you can get them to stay in the country, digging and delving all day long, and sleeping through the night the heavy sleep of muscular fatigue? We suspect it will be found elsewhere as it has been found here, that the common schools are the great enemies of farming, that they inevitably drive out of it all the more intelligent and enterprising portion of the population, and that it cannot and will not be carried on anywhere successfully without a real peasantry; and that in the absence of a real peasantry, the tendency of farming in every country will be towards vast estates like the Roman *latifundia*, which Pliny said had ruined Italy, but which in our day will be worked by machinery, and not by slaves.

What effect this change will have on manners and morals, or whether it may not be met and obstructed or delayed by some counteracting tendency, such as might be caused by the discovery of some cheap and simple "power" that would render possible the diffusion of manufactures, we do not propose to discuss here. But they are questions which must be discussed, and they interest all countries in nearly an equal degree; and a glance at them is sufficient to give a very chimerical air to the schemes of those who imagine we can be carried back in our day to village communities, as well as to the notion of the Russians, that their retention of the village community will save them from the inroads of the socialism which threatens Western society. The modern man may or may not be disposed to abolish individual property, but he is certainly by no means disposed to settle down to remote and lonesome agriculture, and turn away his eyes from the flaring gaslight and crowded pavements of what he calls "the great centres of industry."

#### THE NEW ROMAN THEATRE.

[The following extract from a private letter has been handed us for publication. It will be found to shed a curious light on the state of mind of the Pope's recent subjects.]

ROME, August.

NOT for an empire would we have missed being at the Corea yesterday. Certainly it is not every day that the opportunity presents itself of enjoying, for the sum of one franc ten centimes, such strong emotions as those prom-



ised by a piece bearing the following terrific title: "*The Mysteries of the Spanish Inquisition, with the Seventy-seven Thousand Victims of the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada.*" Only, as we judged that to assist in one single evening at the punishment of seventy-seven thousand heretics was rather too fatiguing, we went to the theatre at eight o'clock instead of six, nourishing the sweet hope that at that late hour some thirty-eight thousand five hundred would have been already hanged or burned, and that there would not be more than thirty-eight thousand five hundred left for us to see executed. We found this a reasonable number, and that no more could decently be exacted from a man just risen from the dinner-table.

When we arrived at the Corea the curtain was up and the public in convulsions of laughter. We were agreeably surprised at this hilarity. On the stage we perceived two Dominican monks, Torquemada, the terrible, himself, and one Brother Gorenflot, who was completely drunk. Torquemada called Brother Gorenflot's attention to the fact that he had dropped his rosary, and commanded him to pick it up. The brother made three staggering steps and stopped. It was this pantomime that excited the hilarity of the public. Finally, Gorenflot succeeded in picking up his rosary, and Philip the Second appeared. He enquired after a certain Jewess, Rachel by name, who was to be burned alive in the course of the day, and who was the illegitimate daughter of Don Sebastian of Portugal, dispossessed of his dominions by Philip the Second. Sufficiently complicated, you perceive.

This Don Sebastian had been arrested, and was now brought and left alone with Philip the Second. I leave you to imagine how he treated the latter, and whether he greeted the Dominicans. During this scene, applause, cries, and stamping spared every word. Philip put an end to it at last by ordering the removal of Don Sebastian, and Torquemada, entering, commanded that he should be put to the torture. Then the king and the inquisitor fell on their knees near the footlights, and prayed devotedly for the soul of Don Sebastian. Shrill whistles are heard from every corner of the amphitheatre, and the simple public indulges in the most energetic language towards Torquemada: "*Ammazzalo! passa via, vassallo!*" "Kill him! away with you, scoundrel!" These, and other objurgations, pronounced by the lips of five hundred Roman *popolani*, with their peculiar and well-known accent, should be heard to be appreciated.

Rachel now appears. She is called upon to renounce her religion. She refuses, and of a sudden piercing, terrible, heart-rending shrieks are heard from behind a curtain at the back of the stage, which, opening in the middle, discloses Don Sebastian hanging by the hands and expiring from the torture. A veritable tempest now burst forth among the audience. A few sceptics laughed, but the mass of the public were quivering with excitement. Cries of horror were heard on all sides, and the exclamations above alluded to were repeated with redoubled emphasis.

The curtain down, we look at the audience, and see that the women are weeping hot tears, while uncontrollable sobs burst from their bosoms. The men, who are trying to be brave and repress their emotions, have red eyes and great tears pearly down over the ends of their noses. The actors are called before the curtain, and the applause is loud and vigorous, but Torquemada appears in the midst of his companions and the tempest of hisses recommences. Between the acts the audience is agitated. We overhear two young men exchanging their impressions. "And to think," says one, "that there are quantities of fine works like this that we do not know, because the Pontifical Government has always forbidden their representation."

Meantime, the orchestra, troubling itself not at all about the seventy-seven thousand victims who have been immolated during the four acts just represented, plays its little habitual polka, and cheerfulness returns to the audience. But the curtain rises, and every brow grows dark again. A funeral pile occupies the centre of the stage. We learn almost immediately that a plot has been formed to deliver Rachel from the flames, and the Gorenflot already mentioned appears in the costume of a squire. He relates that having seen frightful things in the prisons of the Holy Office, and having been himself put upon bread and water for forty-eight hours, he must have the lives of twelve Inquisitors; he must kill twelve! not one more or less—twelve! At the same moment he perceives a spy of the Holy Office, tears off his mask, and, throwing him upon his shoulders, carries him off into a neighboring house. Then he reappears alone, and announces that he has thrown his man into a well. "One!" exclaims he. The audience writhes with delight, applauds, laughs, weeps with joy, howls.

Solemn music is heard, and the procession advances—Torquemada at its head. Rachel mounts the pile. At this moment the conspirators throw themselves, sword in hand, upon the members of the Holy Office, put them to rout, and deliver Rachel. Torquemada is pursued, seized, carried to the pile, and bound to the stake. Then the fagots are fired, and while the curtain slowly descends we see the Grand Inquisitor struggling to burst his bonds, surrounded by flames, half-strangled, his eyes starting from his

head, his tongue protruding from his mouth. This is the *bouquet*—the climax.

After what we have related it will be easy to imagine the reception of this *dénouement*. The cry of every animal in creation mingles with applause and frantic bravos. The audience slowly disperses, radiant with delight, and exchanging felicitations upon the chastisement inflicted upon Torquemada. We came out among the last, and were fortunate enough to see Torquemada, Rachel, Don Sebastian, and Philip the Second chatting amiably together, and, transformed into harmless citizens, directing their steps towards the *Café di Roma*, with the intention of taking an ice.

## Correspondence.

### "NATIONAL APATHY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You promise to give us some explanation of the causes of this phenomenon which you so well describe. If only to elicit your comments, I venture to suggest one of the possible causes, namely, that we have in our public men only party and not personal responsibility. Take the subject, which you adduce, of taxation. The general party cry is high or low tariff, greater or less revenue. The details of adjustment, which are all-important both in themselves and with a view to continuity, are arranged in secret committee, under the pressure of private interests, and thrown into the House, to be carried, almost without debate, by a purely party vote. There is nothing in this which can possibly excite personal enthusiasm on the part of electors; and thus at the primary nominations, there being nobody who fills the public eye, the voters are quite indifferent, and the meeting is manipulated by skilful politicians like Banks or Butler. The nominees then sail into power on the most general party cries, the voters either swallowing their dislike to the individuals on the strength of these cries, or abstaining altogether—apathy, in either case, being an inevitable result. Campaign speeches are of the same nature. I have been told, by one who was with Banks in New Orleans, that the latter, bewailing in confidential moments the hard fate of politicians, would remark "that the people of Massachusetts were a set of d—d fools, and would swallow anything you chose to say to them"; which might be perfectly true of the portion who went to hear him. Sensible people, knowing what they had to expect from Mr. Banks, would stay at home, or, if they went from curiosity, kept silent, the noise being made by those who care little for matter if the manner is sufficiently inflated.

If we expect to excite public interest in elections, there must be created a personal responsibility. A scheme of taxation in detail should be introduced by the Secretary of the Treasury in the interest of the whole country. The discussion of this in public debate would command the attention of the country, and bring out the individual qualities of members, so that even silent voters would have a personal character among their constituents, and give a basis for a bolt in force if the primary nominations were unsatisfactory. Public speakers, also, would have material for attracting the attention of their fellow-citizens, instead of wasting themselves in declamations in which the feeblest can often surpass the best intellects.

The civil service affords another illustration. President Grant has undoubtedly made many bad nominations, and, while professing to favor reform, has done little or nothing to promote it. Now, when a large part of his supporters are, like yourself, condoning this failure for the sake of escaping the greater evil of Greeley's election, a very great degree of enthusiasm is not to be expected. I believe that it was simply impossible for the President to do otherwise, because the only power he has to influence legislation consists in the disposal of offices, and he is forced to use this power to satisfy the Congressional majority. If a reform is ever to be effected, if the great qualities which you recognize in the body of the people are to be made available, I believe that a detailed scheme must be introduced by a cabinet officer, upon which, with the support of independent members, he can go to the people as *against* Congress. Individuals would then be brought into a definite position, and we should go to the polls in a different state of the public mind from that which is induced by the shallow generalities of party majority.

G. B.

Boston, Sept. 13, 1872.

### A WAY OUT OF THE MUDDLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Very many of us plain people who are not politicians, are asking each other if there is not some way out of the miserable political dilemma in the jaws of which tricksters have placed the people.

I do not know, in a somewhat large acquaintance in several States, a single

Grant man who does not freely own among his friends that he would much rather vote for somebody else than Grant; nor a single Greeley man who would not much rather vote for some other man than Greeley. Neither of the Presidential conventions did the will of the people, and the nominations of both sides are, by the almost universal private confession of their supporters, so unfit to be made that scarcely any man "not in politics" supports either, except as a choice of evils; and a very poor choice at that. It has happened before now that a person was chosen President who was odious to nearly or perhaps even to quite half of the American people; but unless some way can be found out of the present situation, we shall, no matter which party wins, have a President disliked and distrusted by nearly the whole nation, and by the whole of its disinterested intelligence. Surely, that is not republican government.

But if it is not republican government, is it not a grave danger to the Republic that self-seeking politicians of both parties should be allowed, by an unheard-of trick, to silence the common sense of the people, and to oblige the voters to vote—on either side—for men they distrust and in a great measure detest? That there was trickery and "management" for unworthy purposes nobody, I think, denies. You who support Grant, and do not like him, do not doubt, I suppose, Mr. Bromley's report, that if even twelve resolute men had, at Philadelphia, opposed Grant's renomination, they could have carried the Convention for some fit person, so little was he really liked even there. Nor have I seen a single man who was present at the Cincinnati Convention but has assured me that if the honorable delegates in that body had beforehand suspected the trick of Gratz Brown, they could easily have nominated Adams or Trumbull, or some other good and fit man.

That the two candidates are not merely disliked, but unfit for the place, is so undeniable that the newspapers on each side are filled with extracts from speeches or writings of the now prominent supporters of these candidates, declaring, within the year, their incapacity and exposing their misconduct. In fact, all reputable public men are demoralized by the political situation, and afford a disagreeable spectacle to the nation by the attitude into which they have been forced, or have allowed themselves to be put. The Grant organs make it a point against Trumbull, Schurz, and Sumner that they support Greeley, whom they have always disliked and distrusted; but it is well known that Blaine, Garfield, Dawes, and others of equal prominence, now supporting Grant, dislike and distrust him as strongly as the other men do Greeley.

What is the result of this state of things? This is one result, and one of the worst: In former Presidential elections, where parties were nearly evenly divided, the decision was made by a considerable body of independent and intelligent voters, who are not the slaves of party, and who have in such times, with great benefit to the country, held the balance of power. But in the present campaign the balance of power lies with the lowest class of our voting population, with the camp-followers, who stand ready to rush to whichever they shall, near the close of the battle, believe likely to be the winning side. Hence the extreme importance attached by the Grant organs to the vote of Maine, and the general admission that the success of the Grant men there has weakened the Greeley side. For the Greeley men did not expect to carry Maine's electoral vote; they have lost nothing which they expected or hoped to gain; but they as well as their opponents know that on such results depends the attachment of the meaner part of the voters—the camp-followers; and that on these depends the victory in November.

Hence, too, the whole canvass is bitterly and almost entirely personal. Principles are very little discussed; the whole canvass turns on the character of the candidates and their supporters; and as there is, so far as I can see, impartially reading journals of both sides, nothing to choose between the two—I mean nothing for one to choose who carries his conscience to the polls—there never was so disgusting a struggle. See how the journals and orators watch their men. If one points out that Grant has lowered the dignity of the Presidential office by his trifling conduct—a grave fault in him, as I think—the reply is pat and true, that Greeley going about the country electioneering for himself is as disagreeable and unprecedented a spectacle as anything of Grant's. When Grant is charged with avariciousness and unscrupulous greed, his friends point out that Greeley but lately lent his name, for money, to two of the worst rogues in New York, Tweed and Nathaniel Sands, to establish a tobacco monopoly. If Grant is charged with disgraceful double-dealing in the civil-service business, his allies can point to a recent letter from Greeley, in which he coolly promises in advance to divide the spoils fairly among all who support him, no matter what their party bonds. If it is said that Grant keeps such bad company as Tom Murphy, the obvious reply is that Greeley's friends, Cochrane, Colorado Jewett, George Sanders, etc., are no better. If Grant's "fuglemen," Cameron, Butler, Morton, Harlan, and others of that kind, are called by their proper names, as they deserve, Grant's friends match man for man by naming

among Greeley's chief supporters and managers Cochrane, Depew, Cary of Ohio, Fernando Wood, etc. If you, a Greeley man, should charge Grant with misusing his political influence to enrich his relatives, I, being a Grant man—which I am not, by the way—should reply that Greeley has been known to accept \$1,000 personally for his political influence used in lobbying a bill in Congress. So at least says Judge Hoadly of Cincinnati, and adds that a friend of Greeley's admitted the truth of the charge. If you should say that Grant is surrounded by vile and suspicious characters—and you could truthfully say that—I might as correctly point out to you an equally vile and suspicious set who surround Greeley. Finally, if you and I should look at the tails of the two tickets, we should see on one side Gratz Brown, political trickster, and accused of drunkenness; and on the other, Henry Wilson, who had such bad luck in denying that he had been a Know-Nothing.

In short, it is six of one and half a dozen of the other, and whichever way the election turns, if Grant or if Greeley is put into the White House, in either case the country suffers and is disgraced. I trust you will not laugh me contemptuously out of your columns if I attempt to show you that the Constitution of the United States provides a remedy for precisely such a case as this.

The framers of the Constitution fondly believed that party spirit could be kept down in the country, and, in the article which prescribes the method of choosing President and Vice-President, they provided that the person receiving the highest number of votes in the Electoral College should be President, and he receiving the next highest should be Vice-President. As soon as parties were formed and well-defined, this was seen not to work, for it would invariably secure the officers of opposing political opinions, which would make confusion, so an amendment was adopted, under which we now live and elect, by which the Electoral College votes first for President and next for a Vice-President; and it has become customary for the electors, who were originally designed to be an independent body of citizens, uncommitted to any man, to be the mere agents of the parties they represent, and to record as a matter of course their votes for the nominees of their respective parties.

This being a custom long in use, it would certainly be an odious and atrocious piece of treachery for two or a dozen, or any number of Democratic electors, for instance, to carry their votes to the Republican side if the Electoral College were nearly equally divided, and thus defeat the vote of the people; and probably no man would dare to perpetrate such an act; nor will anybody be found silly enough to suggest it. But suppose an entirely different case. Suppose a party saddled by the political management of bad men with candidates conspicuously unfit and improper; suppose that in some way the party thus burdened succeeded in the election; then suppose the electors chosen by this party to be men of the highest character, the strictest integrity, and the sincerest patriotism, is there anything which should make it repugnant to them to do their plain constitutional duty of selecting, as men of independent judgment, better men—the best men of their party—for the two places? I, for my part, see nothing. I go further, and say that, acting under oath, and with a due sense of their responsibility to the country and their party, and of their plain constitutional duty and obligation, they could not do otherwise. Here are the words of the Constitution:

"1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign, and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed."

There is not a shadow of doubt, and there has never been, that the electors are intended by the Constitution to exercise a distinct and independent right of choice. I need not quote you authorities on this question, for it has never, so far as I know, been disputed.

Now, I repeat, that for a few electors of one party to give the election to their opponents by going over to them would be an atrocious and demoralizing act of treachery. But that the body of electors of a successful party should, in the interest of the whole country and of their party, put aside unfit candidates, and join hands to declare the election of fit and proper men of the same party, that I believe to be within their power and their duty; and in doing this I believe that the electors of either party in the present case would receive the support of the people.

Bear in mind that the people do not actually vote for President and



Vice-President; they vote for Presidential electors. Go back further, and the people vote, really, to put a certain party in power. The two parties appeal to them for power and rule. The people, by their vote, say this party shall have power and rule, to the exclusion of the other. That is what the election means. It is not a gift to an individual, but an approval of a party—a declaration that the principles and policy of that party shall prevail in the Government for a stated time. And, acting in obedience to and conformity with that declaration, the electors have, under the Constitution, the undisputed right to select from that party its best men. They are put there for that purpose, and it seems to me that their independence, so carefully provided and guarded by the Constitution, is of very great importance in such a case as that which is now before the country, and ought to be exercised, no matter which party may prevail; for in this way only can the people under the Constitution protect themselves against the base tricks of caucuses and conventions.

X.

[We ought to mention that the writer of the above is not a mere speculator, but a practical politician of the best kind, with exceptional claims to attention.—ED. NATION.]

## Notes.

A SECOND attempt within a few years to found in this city a literary journal under the name of the *Athenæum* has just been made. The prospectus of the *American Athenæum* indicates that its field will be literature, science, the fine arts, music, and the drama. It is calculated, to quote the language of the prospectus, "to supply a want that has been long felt by publishers, professional men, and the cultivated public generally," and "its great aim will be to maintain the thorough independence of its criticisms, uninfluenced by advertisements and other means by which works of Literature and Art not unfrequently obtain a meretricious fame." Several of the reviews in the first number are unfavorable enough to supply any "want that has long been felt by publishers" of this sort of candor. The defects of most "first numbers" are visible here, but they need not be dwelt on. The London correspondent hardly allows for the intelligence of the public he is addressing, and, unless the printer is at fault, is a poor writer of English. There are some singular errors in the spelling of names of "American Artists at Home and Abroad" on the twelfth page; and the proof-reading generally is susceptible of improvement. The literary department is noticeable for its fulness rather than its quality. Mr. John Fraser, lately Deputy Professor of English Literature and Language in the University of Glasgow, is the editor, and Mr. J. Bartlett Cooke the publisher.—An enquiring reader of the *Nation* is directed for a review of Stephens's "Constitutional History of the Late War between the States" to No. 203, Vol. VIII. p. 399.

—A correspondent of the *Athenæum* (Sept. 7) offers an explanation of the passage discussed at some length in the *Nation* last year, act iii. scene 2 of "Romeo and Juliet"—"That runaways' eyes may wink." "What," he asks, "is the meaning of these words? Obviously, as it seems to me, that people in the ways, or streets, may not see Romeo. By *runaways* the poet means those who run in the ways, or streets, the wayfarers, as we say. We may compare Jer. v. 1: 'Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know.'"

—The beginning of a new era in the usefulness of great public collections has been made by a series of photographs from the collections in the British Museum, by S. Thompson (London: Mansell & Co.) It is only necessary to enumerate the subjects comprised in the first seven parts to appreciate the very high value of the enterprise. Not only is the Museum rendered accessible to persons in all parts of the world, but they are admitted to view its contents as trained observers, as it were. The objects presented are selected and arranged on scientific principles, in a connection which the ordinary looker-on could never discover for himself, or only with great difficulty. Of the upwards of a thousand photographs now issued, about 150 relate to prehistorical and ethnographical examples of human ingenuity—tools, weapons, implements, and ornaments; 120 illustrate Egyptian sculpture, painting, and architecture; 250 treat of Assyria, 190 of Greece, 100 of Rome and Tuscany; 50 are devoted to mediæval art, 100 to seals of corporations, sovereigns, etc. Each division is accompanied by a catalogue, and may be bought separately; or the photographs may be had singly at a price not exceeding two shillings. An admirable introduction aims "to supply evidences of man's advancement, from the lowest stage of his history; the conditions of social life, of belief, and of science, from the earliest to the

latest epoch." The photographs are among the best productions of the art. Any well-meaning merchant-prince, whose mind turns to the little village where he was born with thoughts of how to benefit it with some public endowment, has it now in his power to found a British Museum in miniature—systematic, compact, and for purposes of instruction practically complete. When other museums, as they must in time, take the same steps to popularize their treasures, it ought not to be necessary for American students to envy greatly the opportunities of Europeans.

—Dr. R. A. Smith, an English physician, has for forty years been engaged in studying the vitiation of air, having apparently been moved to do so by the assertion of Dalton that, scientifically speaking, he could not distinguish the air of Manchester from that of Helvellyn. This was an inability which goes far to vindicate the superiority of our bodily senses, in matters of vital chemistry, over the tests of the laboratory; for readily as we dull our perceptions by habit, which is indeed second nature in very many definitions of that term, the people are few who do not at once feel and keenly enjoy the difference between the depressing air of crowded cities and that of a mountain region. To remove the stigma from chemical analysis seems to have been at least one of the motives urging Dr. Smith in his researches; but it was not the only one, as may be seen when he comes to speak upon the duties of municipal government in respect to filthy and otherwise unwholesome houses. We wish no man could be made a member of our common councils until he had passed a competitive examination on the passage following, and had beaten all his opponents in the zeal at least with which he declared his willingness to act according to his knowledge:

"Let those courts, alleys, and streets which show the greatest mortality and the worst air be destroyed or improved, without foolish mercy. There is a want of willingness to pull down dangerous property, but a readiness to rush forward to save the life of the greatest criminals. Reason is out of the question in the matter. We are misled by an uneducated feeling. We like to save property, forgetting that deadly weapons and poisons are subject to peculiar laws, and their indiscriminate use is forbidden to the nation. And houses that produce death are not property; as well might a man claim his debts as such. If a man sells unwholesome meat the law interferes; if he sells the use of a room with fever in it, the nation seems not to complain. Officers of health point out such places, but the public still refuse to destroy them, and great numbers are slain annually by legal methods, while strict methods are taken to prevent a few annually being killed by arsenic—a death more agreeable than the lingering misery in the lower parts of our crowded towns. I know that the lowest classes living in poisoned houses die from other causes than bad air; but I am speaking of air at present, and that is one of the causes. The time must come—and the sooner the better—when it shall be enacted that no land shall contain more people per acre than we know by experience in several places can live healthily thereon. The same thing must be said regarding houses, although these are more difficult for governments to deal with, because of the degradation of some of the population. Still the limitation must be obtained, and for that we must strive."

—Dr. Smith has not found that his investigations have produced very brilliant and striking results. "I feel," he says, "that, whilst I have succeeded in doing much of that which I intended to do, I have not got beyond the limits which earlier observers attained by the mere fineness of unaided sense and by sound reasoning without experiment." But he hopes that he will be found to have confirmed the suspicions of others and to have put into plainer language and in detail what others only imagined somewhat vaguely. He has made many experiments, and in giving us the results he asks for careful attention to the value of minuteness in considering his figures. Thus, for example, a difference of nineteen one-thousandths of a single part of oxygen in the air of a given place may mean something very dangerous indeed to the inhabitants. It looks like stating an insignificant difference when it is said of the air one breathes that out of its 100 parts there is to-day only 20.980 of oxygen; while last year, before the bone-boiling establishment was set going, there were 20.999, or nineteen one-thousandths of a part more. The nineteen thousandths may be displaced by organic matter, or by the gases of putrefaction. It is as if 190 quarts of putrefying matter were present in every million quarts of drinking water, or 13.3 grains in every gallon. Or, rather, it is worse than this; for of water we drink not very much, and the thirteen grains and three-tenths we should not drink in a day, but through our lungs we draw two thousand gallons of air in a day. And it should be recollected that sometimes, as in crowded theatres, the proportion of oxygen is as low as 20.7, and that in some of our tenement-houses the air of a theatre gallery would be a draught of luxury. Dr. Smith details one experiment which sets in a clear light the fact that no great diminution of the percentage of oxygen in the air is necessary to make an atmosphere almost deadly to human beings, and the fact that we may be about as ignorant of the noxious quality of the air we are breathing even while we are taking it into our lungs, as we are susceptible of injury from it. In some of his experiments he used an air-tight chamber, the atmosphere of which he vitiated by burning candles in it. On one occasion a young lady, who was anxious

to make the experiment, got into this enclosure just as the candles were put out, and at the end of five minutes, during which she made light of the difficulty, it was necessary to help her out, the partial asphyxiation having taken place in an atmosphere in which the percentage of oxygen was about 19.0. Rain also, in which are collected the solids and liquids of the air, has had a great deal of Dr. Smith's attention, as, in examining its chemical properties, his experiments could be made without putting health or life to the test, and he has collected and analyzed samples of rain water collected from all parts of the British Isles, some being sent him from the Hebrides on the north, and some from Valentia Bay, on the west coast of Ireland. Tried by this test, the much-maligned London air turns out to be, says *Nature*, about the best in the United Kingdom, while that of Glasgow seems to be the worst. But we suppose a proficient in "gerrymandering" might cut out two or three worse Glasgows in London if he took particular districts, and not the whole metropolis in the average.

—New English publications have long been recorded in two good weekly lists—the *London Bookseller*, a subject-catalogue, and the *Publishers' Circular*, an author-catalogue. Of course, the same titles are given in nearly the same way in each. The only difference (except in accuracy, as to which we have oftenest found the *Bookseller* wanting) is in the arrangement. French literature is to see a similar duplication of labor. For twelve years C. Reinwald has issued an annual list of new publications, alphabetically arranged by authors, with an index of subjects. Now G. Bossange (successor of Hector Bossange, well known to most American purchasers of French books) has brought out the first of a series of annual catalogues, arranged in fourteen subject-divisions, with an index of authors. And the best of it is that both Bossange and Reinwald are ready to give their catalogues to probable customers; you are not obliged to pay your money in order to take your choice. Reinwald's list for the two years 1870-71 will be shorter than it has usually been for one. Publication, and perhaps literary activity, almost ceased during the siege. Lenormant relates in his fourth "Lettre assyriologique," as a fitting preface to an explanation of a Himyaritic inscription, how he stood one winter morning, gun on shoulder and up to his knees in the snow, at Vitry, and discussed with a brother archaeologist the chances of their ever resuming their former studies. He had not much leisure or calmness for writing in those days, nor had others. But a certain number of important works had been prepared, or nearly prepared, for publication before the war, and appeared immediately after it; and, as in our own country, the guns had hardly ceased firing when scores of writers seized the pen to describe their experiences—in the trenches, in an ambulance, as prisoners in the hands of the Prussians or of the Communists, or to make or defend themselves against accusations of treachery. It is true that long months of enforced idleness, and the habit of receiving a daily allowance without performing real labor in exchange for it, had thoroughly demoralized the workmen. It was difficult to find a pressman or a bookbinder who would take the necessary care, and as of old make the clearness of the type and the neatness of the binding a fit vessel for the transparency and sparkle of the style. We have seen few books published in 1871 or 1872 that equal the former beauty of French typography. But books were published, if not with their previous elegance or cheapness, yet in numbers sufficient to show that France was in no danger of losing its rank as second among the book-producing nations of Europe. During the war, the most curious and in a way the most characteristic productions of the French did not appear in book-form, but in the newspapers and pamphlets. The foolish levity, the almost incredible vanity, exultant at the commencement of the campaign, mortified, bitter, enraged, as the Prussians moved on from success to success, are best seen in the *Figaro*, the *Gaulois*, and other journals; and these journals cannot be taken to represent merely the eccentricity of a few Bohemians, for some of them enjoyed a circulation of a hundred thousand copies. M. Borchardt, in his "La Littérature française pendant la Guerre de 1871-1872," has collected some of the most striking of these utterances, and commented upon them, as a German might be expected to do, not very charitably. He does not allow enough for the exciting effect of war upon even the quietest natures, and especially a war from which national vanity could draw no consolation. We wish we could think that the French are the only nation guilty of such extravagances in war times; but we have too vivid a recollection of the bad taste, inconsistencies, sophisms, lies, absurd hopes, unreasonable complaints, and the ferocity that disfigured American periodical literature at the South, and at the North too, from 1861 to 1865. In M. Bossange's catalogue, the division "Événements de 1870-71" is surpassed in length only by "Histoire et Géographie," "Education," and "Sciences médicales," and might have received some of the works recorded under "Législation," "Economie politique" and "Sciences militaires." The classification is peculiar, and produces some startling results. Biblio-

graphy, which Brunet places among the adjuncts to History, here takes its place with Typography under "Sciences appliquées à l'industrie." One finds the new combined edition of Quérard's Pseudonyms and Barbier's Anonyms between a treatise on agriculture and another on butter and cheese, while Lorenz's "Catalogue of French Literature for the last Twenty-five Years" is preceded by Lévy on "Geese, Ducks, and Turkeys," and Lejeune's "Brick-maker's Guide." The numerous entries under Education would be an encouraging sign for France, were it not that she has always been very prolific in educational works, without, as far as one can see, any satisfactory result. Theology holds its own; Belles-Lettres and Fiction are crowded; Fine Arts, considering the costly nature of the books, is well represented; the Natural Sciences and Technology not so well; and Philosophy and Legislation come off worst of all.

—The civilized art of counterfeiting ancient inscriptions and objects of interest to the archaeologist has recently made some progress in South Arabia, and even in Yemen, a country altogether impervious to the influences of art and science, where scarcely a European resides, and where it is hardly safe for one to travel. It is not a little remarkable that the natives have been so successful in their first attempt as to deceive connoisseurs and even experienced directors of museums. English curiosity-hunters and the British Museum, or rather its agents, are the unfortunate dupes in these transactions. The things counterfeited are bronze tablets, or smaller objects of metal, bearing Himyaritic inscriptions. The credit of detecting the fraud is due to the celebrated Joseph Halévy, the only European traveller who has recently entered Sanaa, the capital, or rather nominal capital, of Yemen. Halévy had made exact copies of over 600 Himyaritic inscriptions from the interior of Yemen, and showed them and other things to a coppersmith of Sanaa. It would seem that this shrewd fellow took impressions of the Halévy inscriptions, and, from an ingenious combination of parts of them, produced the counterfeit tablets—a hypothesis which is strengthened by the fact that the tablets sold to the English contain literal extracts from the Halévy inscriptions. It was quite possible, of course, that there might be discovered more tablets than one bearing the same inscription; but, unfortunately, those on the coppersmith's tablets do not point to the place where he pretends to have discovered them, but to the precise spot where Halévy's were found. There is, moreover, about these objects an appearance very unlike that of age, of itself sufficient to awaken suspicion. The possibility, however, that this appearance might be due to an exceptional preservation, and the improbability that the counterfeiting could be carried to such perfection in South Arabia, left some doubt still as to the authenticity of the tablets—a doubt which has since been completely cleared up. Herr von Maltzan relates that he was resident in Aden, and witnessed the discovery of the forgeries. The smith had sold a bronze amulet, in the form of a seal, and with Himyaritic inscriptions, to the Governor of Aden as unique and very ancient. The Governor showed his purchase to Herr von Maltzan, and informed him it was the only one of its kind. Later, Herr von Maltzan saw a duplicate of it with an English officer, a third in the hands of an Arab, a fourth with the Cadi, a fifth and even a twelfth, the possessor in each instance believing himself the happy owner of a unique. There was no doubt they had been all made from the same mould, and the name copied from Halévy's inscriptions. Several of the tablets were sold to the British Museum.

—Though the 2d of September, the anniversary of the surrender at Sedan, was widely observed in Germany with public festivities, yet in official circles, and with intelligent and thoughtful persons, the feeling prevails that it is not wise to set apart a national holiday to commemorate a victory upon foreign soil and the humiliation of a neighbor whose friendship in the future is so important to the development of the German Empire and to the peace of Europe. This feeling found utterance in journals believed to be officially inspired, and hence in Berlin the celebration was of a very mild type. Display of flags, extra performances at the theatres, school excursions, etc., but no guns, parades, processions, no general illumination, and nothing that seemed in any way to commit the court. Indeed, the attitude of Germany toward France is one of watchful sobriety rather than of boastful superiority, and this shows good taste as well as good sense in high quarters. For a time the popular enthusiasm will glorify the military successes of 1870-71; but in the end, the anniversary of the coronation of the King of Prussia as Emperor, or of the adoption of the Imperial constitution, is likely to be fixed upon as the national holiday of Germany.

—One of the most learned ecclesiastical lawyers of all Germany, Herr Friedberg of Leipzig, has an article in the lately-published German *Annual* on the subject of the Church and the New Empire, which is favorably reviewed by the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Both articles point, in a manner not to be mistaken, to a coming contest between the empire and the Church, in which the empire will take the initiative, and of which Friedberg says that it will



be "sharp and bitter," and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* "violent." When the question of expelling the Jesuits arose in the German Reichsrath there were those who solemnly protested that the war against them was not meant as a war with the Roman Catholic Church. Views on this matter are beginning to change, and now the *Allgemeine Zeitung* asserts that the measures against the Jesuits were only the first step against the Church itself; for, it asks, "Is it not evident that the recent disturbing events in the religious world have been brought about by the Jesuits? Is it not evident that the present Pope is completely under the influence of the order? Is it not evident that Jesuitical principles govern the Catholic Church to-day? Have not Catholic priests assured us again and again that they are brothers to the Jesuits? In fact, is not the whole Catholic Church identified with the Jesuit order? It is a terrible thing to say, but we will say it: The present Jesuitical-Ultramontane-Roman Catholic Church is dangerous to the state." In view of the attitude of the Church to the state, Friedberg proposes the following questions: 1. What means shall the state take to preserve itself from the dangers threatening it on the part of the Church? 2. What power shall enforce the laws guarding against such danger—the several states composing the empire, or the empire itself? In answer to the first of these questions he proposes that the Church shall be completely under the control of the state; that civil marriage shall be made obligatory; that no schools shall be left under the control of the Church; that the poor shall not be cared for by the Church; that no clergyman shall preach or have the care of souls unless favorably disposed towards the state and the above laws; that the education of the clergy shall be superintended by the state; that no order of monks or nuns shall exist within the empire without the consent of the empire; and that the Jesuits shall not be tolerated. He further proposes that the enforcement of these laws shall belong to the empire, and not to each individual state. These methods are certainly very severe, and, if adopted, would be nearly tantamount to forbidding the Catholic Church on German soil. It is not a little significant that some of the papers that lead public opinion in Germany favor this scheme, and that the scheme itself should be produced with the sanction of so great a name, and in a work which is a manual for the use of the officers of the empire in almost every branch of the service.

—We have already noticed the promised appearance of the *China Review*, a bimonthly publication from the press of the (Hongkong) *China Mail*. The first number was issued on August 31, and the table of contents augurs well for its prospects. They comprise: 1. An introductory notice. 2. The Shih King—a review of the fourth volume of Dr. Legge's "Chinese Classics." 3. The Adventures of a Chinese Giant, translated from the Chinese. 4. A Chinese Farce, with an introduction. 5. Su Tung-p'o, from an unpublished History of the Kwang-tung Province. 6. Mr. Wade, C.B., on China—an unpublished State paper. 7. From Gotham to Cathay, being Divers Experiences in Strange Places. 8. Rhymes from the Chinese, with prose comments. 9. The Coinage of Japan, as it was and is. 10. China's Place in Philology—a review of Mr. Edkins's last work. 11. Short Notices of New Publications. 12. Notes and Queries on Eastern Matters. 13. Books wanted, exchanges, etc. We are glad to learn that the subscription list is rapidly filling.

—The Rev. Justus Doolittle, late editor of the *Chinese Recorder* (Foo-chow), a publication that has, we regret to notice, been discontinued, has brought out the first volume of his "Hand-Book and Vocabulary of the Chinese Language," and thereby set sinologists, who seem to be gifted with a peculiar development of the critical faculty, by the ears. A large number of local reviewers find his work to be all it professes to be, while an equally large number condemn it as next to useless. They admit its accuracy as regards concrete terms—a matter in which a dictionary-maker is scarcely likely to go wrong—but dispute its use for compound terms, which appear to be the bugbear of all who are so unhappy as to rush into print upon so delicate a matter as Chinese philology. We take it that the truth lies between the two extremes. A competent authority says it is a very fair vocabulary but a bad dictionary. The second volume (now passing through the press) promises great things, and, if it fulfils one-half of them, will be a unique compilation. Mr. Doolittle is tolerably well known in this country as the author of "The Social Life of the Chinese" (Harper & Bros.), a work containing more, and more ill-arranged, information concerning that people than any other yet published.

—A work which has caused some little excitement in Chinese circles is a voluminous publication by Baron von Gumpach, late astronomer at the Pekin College, and entitled "The Burlingame Mission, a Political Exposé," written with the avowed object of damaging the character of Mr. Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, the quondam friend and employer of the author. Its 900 pages contain as much abuse as is often to be found within the covers of a single book. Not that

it is devoid of ability; but its scathing denunciations of official trickery are accompanied with such virulent personal attacks as to forfeit the attention that a more judicious writer would assuredly have gained. The chapters on the Tientsin massacre and future foreign policy in China show, however, both considerable knowledge of Chinese policy and rare command of language. The work is published at Shanghai, but bears no printer's imprint, a lawyer having expressed an opinion that any page "contained libels enough to hang a man." We learn that Mr. Trübner wrote to request that his name might be removed from the title-page as London publisher.

#### FAWCETT'S ESSAYS.\*

THE name of Mr. Fawcett has become well-known of late years as that of the Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, as being blind from an accident, and as a representative in Parliament of the most positive and uncompromising radicalism. The volume before us contains the application of the most radical doctrines of political economy to the great social and economical problems of the day, and it adds sensibly to its value as a contribution to this discussion that it is written in full and equal partnership by the professor and his wife. So far as this fact goes, it tells powerfully in favor of female equality; for Mrs. Fawcett's papers are fully worthy to stand in the series with her husband's. The volume, as a whole, is able, candid, and up to a certain point completely satisfactory.

In saying that it is satisfactory "up to a certain point," we mean that it stops just short of a profound and exhaustive analysis of the questions discussed. We can best illustrate this by referring to the papers, by Mrs. Fawcett, upon the Woman's Rights question, which are probably those which will excite most interest in this community. The two papers entitled "The Electoral Disabilities of Women" and "Why Women Require the Franchise" contain a very complete, and we think we may say sufficient, refutation of the old stock arguments against female suffrage; but they do not touch the considerations which have most weight in the present state of the controversy. It is very evident, to the most casual observation, that the female-suffrage movement has lost ground in our community within five years, and the reason for this—apart from the unsavory performances of some of its leading champions—is simply that people see now, or think they see, that the distinction of sex is something more than a mere accident, and that enough importance has not been attributed to it in the discussion. Mrs. Fawcett, for example, treats the question just as if the sexual relation did not exist, and, by thus leaving out of consideration the most important element in the problem, has wholly failed to reach any satisfactory solution of it. Her argument is directed towards a phase of the controversy which lost all its importance long ago.

On this point we will borrow an illustration from a kindred subject of debate—education of the sexes in colleges. We noticed not long ago the sentimental names given to paths, etc., in the grounds of a very promising Western university. Now, it will take years of successful co-education in this institution to balance the discredit thrown upon the system in the eyes of thoughtful people by this deliberate naming of a path "Flirtation Walk." It was done, no doubt, as a harmless joke, but it is making real what the opponents of the experiment have all along urged—that co-education will bring together too inflammable material, and cannot but lead to mischief. All that is said and proved of the scholarship of the young ladies, and of their demeanor now while the experiment is new, has nothing to do with the real question any more than the intellectual equality of women and the courtesy shown them at the polls have to do with the question of female suffrage. It is this vulgar aspect of the movement, as we cannot but call it, illustrated by this unlucky path, that has disgusted many of its old friends; it seems to them that it is playing with edged tools. We express no opinion as to the weight that this argument ought to have; we simply say that it is on this point that the battle is at present waged, and that the champions of the reform in question must meet this issue squarely, if they would regain for their cause the ground it has lost.

As Mrs. Fawcett has missed the vital point of the Woman Question, just so her husband does not seem to us to go to the root of the even more important questions with which he deals in his opening papers. We can hardly say what is lacking; the papers are eminently clear, instructive, and judicious, and are a welcome contribution to the discussion. But we feel that after all he only touches the surface of "Modern Socialism," and that in regard to "State Intervention" we have valuable suggestions and discussions of detail, but no broad general principle. These two papers are the key to the first half of the volume, and although we may pronounce them inadequate on

\* "Essays and Lectures on Social and Political Subjects. By Henry Fawcett, M.P., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, and Millicent Garrett Fawcett." London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1872. 8vo, 369 pp.

general and theoretical grounds, they contain much of real value, and serve as a sufficient introduction to a series of admirable papers upon special economical points—Free Education, Pauperism, Hours of Labor, National Debts, and Agricultural Laborers; all but two of these are by Mr. Fawcett himself. These subjects are all treated from the point of view of Political Economy, and often contain conclusions differing from what we in this country are accustomed to regard as "radical." Mrs. Fawcett is opposed to free education, on the ground that it is the same in principle as relief to paupers—it is as much the parent's duty to provide his child with schooling as with food and clothing; if he cannot do the latter, he is called a pauper, and treated as such, why not if he cannot do the former? "As a rule, it is not the poverty but the self-indulgence of a parent which stands in the way of his child's education; this self-indulgence would be checked by making him pay the school pence; it would be encouraged by a system of free education" (p. 62).

The lecture upon "Regulation of the Hours of Labor by the State" is a very complete exposure of the fallacies of the movement, in the interest of the working-classes themselves. The author shows, by the example of the Newcastle strike, that they have it in their power to bring about all needed reform without any aid from the state. Mrs. Fawcett discusses the economic aspects of national debts from the experience of the several nations. And in the article entitled "What can be done for the Agricultural Laborer?" her husband shows that it is only from education that any real benefit can be expected for this class—that is, that any elevation of their condition must come from their own intelligence and self-restraint, and that nothing which can be done for them will have any lasting effect, except in so far as it acts upon their minds and characters. In a postscript to this paper we have a very interesting account of the agricultural laborers of Northumberland and one or two other northern counties, where this class is far more intelligent and much better off than in other parts of the kingdom.

The article (from the *British Quarterly*) upon "Pauperism, Charity, and the Poor-Law," is the most important, and, upon the whole, the most satisfactory of these special essays. Professor Fawcett has already pointed out, in treating of socialism, that the Poor-Law of Elizabeth, "which first gave to every Englishman a legal claim to maintenance," is "distinctly socialistic in its tendencies"; and the paper in question is an excellent account of the unfavorable workings of this law. Even here, however, something is wanting to the completeness of the discussion. When we are told (p. 95) that "England is the only country in which a man can claim maintenance as a legal right," we naturally expect some comparison of the practice of England with that of other countries, as well to illustrate and prove the statement as to show wherein other nations follow a better plan. Certainly it would seem that there was the same legal claim in this country; every person who cannot support himself necessarily "comes upon the town," and the "Law of Settlement" which Mr. Fawcett criticises does not appear to differ materially in principle from the New England law. And at any rate, however formally this legal right to a maintenance may be put in the English Poor-Law, the principle itself amounts merely to this, that if a person is perishing of want, the state will step in and save his life. It is very well to point out the socialistic tendencies and the disastrous effects of the law; but after all, would Mr. Fawcett say that the state should suffer its citizens to die of starvation in open day? We wish he had met the question, what is to be done with the very destitute when this right is abolished?—which he regards "as a more than probable contingency" (p. 84).

Following the seven economical papers above described, come Mrs. Fawcett's four papers upon female education and suffrage, two of which we have already spoken of. The two upon education are admirable and instructive papers—particularly instructive to us, as showing how different the problems are in England and America. We find it hard to understand the comical resistance made to the inspection of girls' schools (p. 190); our "female seminaries" are only too glad to attract visitors. In like manner, the characteristic faults of these schools, enumerated p. 192, hardly apply, we think, to American schools of the same class; our girls, on the contrary, receive a too narrow and severe education, and have too few accomplishments—we speak of them, of course, as a whole; not of fashionable schools. It is suggestive, too, to notice that co-education is not one of the reforms considered by Mrs. Fawcett.

The three political papers which finish the book are of less importance than those already described. Mr. Fawcett discusses the House of Lords, generally from the same point of view as Mr. Mill in his "Representative Government." He differs from Mr. Mill in thinking that the present House should not be taken as the basis of a reformed second chamber—from this he would wholly exclude the hereditary character. Lastly come two papers by Mrs. Fawcett, reviewing Mr. Stern's book on "Representative Government," and describing Mr. Hare's plan of personal representation. It is not

agreeable, by the way, although it is no more than we deserve, to find that American politics are referred to far oftener by way of warning than of example, as in this review of Mr. Stern, and in speaking of the Maine Liquor Law.

We will call attention to two special arguments on the Woman's Rights question where the author has failed to meet the point. When it is objected that women ought not to vote because they cannot be soldiers, this is not making the suffrage "rest on a military basis," but simply assuming that those only, as a class, shall govern who have the physical power to enforce their decrees. Again, when Mrs. Fawcett urges that at present women suffer from "class legislation," she is using an argument which is almost without weight in this country, and is rapidly losing its importance in England. The present generation is chivalrously eager to redress grievances and to establish equality. It takes time to do this, and it is better that it should; but it is a fact that when a grievance in respect to equality is once pointed out, it is sure of speedy attention. In some States of the Union women have an advantage over men in respect to property; their property is not liable for their husbands' debts, but their husbands' are responsible for theirs. Just so a vigorous effort is making to gain admittance for girls to Harvard and Yale, but nobody proposes to admit young men to Vassar.

The value of these discussions to American readers will be found to be rather in the instruction they give as to English problems than the light they throw upon our own. All the leading economical questions which now disturb English society are here admirably stated and argued in a very candid tone, but with very positive convictions, and there are abundant statistics and detailed facts to support the argument. Much of the argument is of direct application to American society; but most of it, being the consideration of special questions in the light of general economical laws, has reference to problems and dangers which at present we do not feel.

#### A GERMAN CRITIC ON AMERICAN PHILOLOGISTS.\*

THE great magazine of Germany, and of the world, for the comparative study of languages, enters with this number on a new series. Twenty-one years ago, it began with a little circle of contributors and subscribers. The philologists of the old school were still distrustful of the study and kept aloof from the new periodical; but there was a rapid growth of interest in the science. In a few years the same editors began a similar magazine for the Arian, Celtic, and Slavic languages; and now devotion to these studies has spread to the schools and the text-books of grammar, and modified the whole system of instruction in languages in Germany, America, and, more or less, the whole world. The twenty volumes already published have been most powerful aids in this progress. They are made up mostly of important original contributions or of fruitful criticism. No important book on these subjects is published without indebtedness to it; indeed, the constant references to it in German works make it almost as necessary to a student as Webster's Dictionary is said to be. A complete set is a treasure to be eagerly grasped, as the early numbers can no longer be had. A general index is to be completed this year. It has no equal or rival in its own sphere. It has always kept an open eye on America, and has had appreciative notices of the labors of our scholars.

The present number has two articles mainly devoted to Americans. The first is "Corrections," by Misteli, called forth by remarks on his theory of accent by Prof. Whitney, published in the "Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-70." Misteli corrects Prof. Whitney's suggestion that he is an Italian; otherwise, he differs mainly in maintaining that he never did differ, so far as he knew; and he presents his thanks very cordially to the illustrious editor of the *Atharvaveda*.

The other article is a review of Prof. March's "Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon," by Moritz Heyne, known to all students of such matters by his "Brief Comparative Grammar of the Old German Dialects," and his admirable editions of *Beowulf*, the *Heliand*, and *Ulphilas*. He begins by saying that there is little study of Anglo-Saxon in England, but it flourishes in America. In the higher schools of the northeastern part of the United States it is pretty universally taught; and it is taught in a manner thoroughly scientific, and at the height of our best and latest grammatical knowledge, making in this also a complete contrast to England, where they issued Thorpe's grammar as late as 1865, Heyne himself, it might have been added, seeing it through the press. This somewhat overstates the universality of Anglo-Saxon study among us. Eminent as is the professor in this branch at Harvard, it is there, as well as in the Sheffield School, an optional

\* "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen, unter Mitwirkung von Dr. Ernst W. A. Kuhn, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Kuhn, Professor und Director des Königl. Gymnasiums zu Bonn. Band XXI." Neue Folge, Band 1, Erstes Heft. Berlin, 1872.



study, and very few students take it, while elsewhere in New England it hardly gets into the catalogue, much less into the recitation-room of any college. The University of Virginia may justly claim to have been our centre of Anglo-Saxon study. President Jefferson established it there, and it has generally been one of the most popular courses, the classes often counting by the hundred. Just now, Pennsylvania, perhaps, best deserves Heyne's praise. There are more students of Anglo-Saxon at Lafayette College than in all New England; so there are at Jefferson, and perhaps at Gettysburg and Haverford. But possibly Heyne includes Pennsylvania and Virginia in the northeastern part of the United States.

As to March's grammar, he doubts whether so much and such comparative matter as it contains is desirable in the grammar of a single speech; he fears it may embarrass and mislead beginners. It may be said in reply that this grammar is not meant for children, but mainly for students well advanced in a college course, who know something of the comparative grammar of Greek, Latin, English, and German. After a student has learned one speech scientifically, he can never learn another with satisfaction without knowing the relations of everything he learns. A child may memorize mathematics at first, but as soon as he has understood anything, he relents at every attempt to cram him. In America, even grammars for beginners are bringing in comparative matter. Within the last year or so Goodwin, Crosby, Allen and Greenough have used it successfully. It may also be said that the best way to study comparative grammar is in connection with some particular speech, where its laws can be continually applied to particular words. General lectures on such a subject amount to little. March's grammar is plainly intended for such study.

A further criticism is that rules are often given instead of laws of speech. Thus the rule for accent is given that it falls on the first syllable, instead of the law that it falls on the root syllable; old-fashioned lists of objects are given under gender; the paradigms are filled up to the full number of cases used in syntax, although the same form is found in two cases; the three persons of the verb are given in the plural, though they are all alike; the classification of irregular nouns and verbs is that of the old grammars. The fact that the laws are fully stated in the grammar as well as these rules, might not be suggested to Heyne's readers. But the principles of accentuation are fully given and compared with those of other tongues; the gender lists might have suggested the third volume of Grimm's grammar as well as school couplets; and as to filling up paradigms, there is nothing which working teachers more find fault with in a grammar than the absence of a full exhibition in this tabular way of the syntactical uses of words. That there may be nobody misled by it, a statement of the etymological facts faces the paradigms all the way through the grammar. Heyne specifies the instrumental case as in general too often given, and that in *ŷ* or *ŷ* as not given. He perhaps overlooked the statement which yet is given in the largest print in the general caption, "The instrumentals are etymologically datives except -*ŷ*, -*ŷ*." He says the adjective has no instrumental, but he has found that out since his grammar was published, and what he says about it in his new edition to which he refers is by no means conclusive. He admits that besides the common form in -*um*, there is another in -*e* which is not uncommon, and is usually found used as an instrumental. But he thinks he has found examples of it in the dative. The only one he gives is *forġifath gif ge hwæt dgén aenige habbath*—forgive if ye have aught against any—which he quotes as from Matthew xi. 25. Now there is no such passage in Matthew; it comes from Mark. And the *aenige*, which he says is a dative for *aenigum*, is a mere printer's blunder for *aenigne*, the regular accusative after *dgén* ("March's Grammar," § 341), and corresponding to the Latin accusative *aliquem*, which it translates. Heyne doubtless took it from Thorpe; but the reading is *aenigne* in Marshall's edition, from which Thorpe's was printed, as well as in Bosworth's and in all the MSS. as given in Skeat. That the Frisian has a dative in -*e* is of some weight, but the old Saxon instrumental and the Anglo-Saxon adverbial forms in -*e* are strong on the other side, and a more cautious induction is plainly needed.

The explanation in the grammar of the persons of the plural should not be called *quite casual* (*rein beiläufig*), quite the contrary; it is in due course, an essential part of the plan of the book.

Two things Heyne mentions as not up to the height of the latest investigations, the exposition of Grimm's law, and the statement that in Teutonic the adjective follows the pronominal declension. As to Grimm's law, there is in the grammar, besides the current German statements, which are admitted to leave the problem unsolved, another hypothesis, which we leave to its fate. But the trouble about the adjective seems to be merely a misinterpretation of an incautious expression. The definite and indefinite declensions are treated separately, and this expression is part of the discussion of the indefinite form and intended to apply to that only, as may be seen by looking at the explanation of the other form. But since it has misled a Heyne, it

certainly ought to be made more precise. He remarks on the brevity of the derivation and prosody. His statement that the comparative method is given up in the syntax might mislead. The attempt to carry that method through and exhibit the syntactical relations of Teutonic, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit is made with much labor, if with no very imposing results.

And now, having given Heyne's criticisms in the way of correction, it should also be said that he speaks of the grammar as containing wide-reaching, original investigations, based on great erudition in the Anglo-Saxon texts, and over and above combining the results already won, as making its own contribution to the deeper knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon and the general German grammar. He especially commends the lists of verbs, the syntax, and the prosody.

#### ENGLISH LAWS OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.\*

THE English divorce act which went into effect in January, 1858, transferred nearly all the jurisdiction which had been exercised during and since the Catholic age by ecclesiastical courts and persons to a new court, consisting of a judge of a probate court which had just before been created, of the Lord Chancellor, and of the chief judges, together with the three senior puisne judges of the common law courts. The judge of probate is called the Judge Ordinary of the Court of Divorce, and by the original law (20 and 21 Vict., c. 85) needed that two judges of the Superior Courts should sit with him; but by a subsequent amendment of the law was invested with all the powers and authority of the court in the first instance, unless he chose to call for the assistance of one other judge. The full court now sits only for the purpose of hearing certain appeals, and, by an amendment of the law, all the judges of the three common law courts belong to it. The great feature of this new tribunal is that not only most of the powers of the old courts ecclesiastical are transferred to it, but that it has also the power to dissolve marriages in cases of adultery—a power which formerly belonged to Parliament alone, and was very rarely exercised. With these changes, the old suit of a husband for *crim. con.* became in name extinct. The divorce law, however, allows a husband, either in a petition for judicial separation—or so the old suits for divorce *a mens et toro* are now called—or for dissolution of marriage, or "in a petition limited to such an object only, to claim damages from any person on the ground of his having committed adultery with the wife of the petitioner," etc.; but we are informed by Mr. Browning that damages are now never claimed from an adulterer except in suits for dissolution of marriage. The right of limited petition is thus practically found to be useless.

The English divorce law is framed upon the principle that the wife's adultery is a greater social evil than that of the husband. Hence, while her crime, if proved, involves dissolution of marriage, his wrong, in order to have that effect, and to go beyond judicial separation merely, must be more than simple adultery: he must have committed "incestuous adultery, or bigamy with adultery; or rape, sodomy, or bestiality; or adultery coupled with such cruelty as of itself would have entitled the wife to divorce *a mens et toro*, or adultery coupled with desertion, without reasonable excuse, for two years and upwards." On the other hand, the Roman definition of this crime, making it to consist in illicit intercourse with a woman in a state of matrimony, has not entered into the English law.

Either of the parties in the suits before this court of divorce may ask that questions of fact be tried by the court or by a special or common jury; but the court is not obliged to grant a jury on such request, except in suits for dissolution of marriage. Cases of nullity of marriage, on account of their peculiar nature, are usually tried by the judge in his chamber; but he must hear suits for dissolution in open court.

In these suits for dissolution, the party who is alleged to have been a partaker in the wrong with the respondent is joined—except in peculiar cases—with her or him, and is called the co-respondent. If the respondent is a wife, and the suit goes against her, the co-respondent may be condemned to pay the costs, and at the same time a claim for damages may be brought against him by the injured husband.

By an act of 1869, known as the "Evidence Further Amendment Act," the parties to any proceeding instituted in consequence of adultery, together with the husbands and wives of such parties, are made competent to give evidence. But no witness, whether party to the suit or not, "shall be liable to be asked, or be bound to answer, any questions leading to his or her guilt, unless such witness shall have already given evidence in the same proceeding in disproof of his or her alleged adultery." By a decision of the court, the charges against a husband ought not to rest on the unsupported testimony of the woman with whom the crime is alleged to have been committed,

\* "An Exposition of the Laws of Marriage and Divorce as administered in the Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, with the Method of Procedure in each kind of Suit, Illustrated by Copious Notes of Cases. By Ernst Browning, of the Inner Temple." London: W. Ridgway. 1872.

especially if she is a person of loose character. In one instance the court dismissed the petition, on the ground that the evidence was of this description, without entering into the case at all.

We pass by many things of interest in the clear and succinct chapters of Mr. Browning's valuable work relating to the marriage laws of England and the conflict of marriage laws; to suits for dissolution of marriage and for separation, and to defences in such suits; to suits for decrees of nullity and for restitution of conjugal rights; to alimony and damages; to the effect of dissolution on settlements of property; to the custody of children; and to appeals, whether to a full court or to the House of Lords. We can only notice two particulars. The first of these is, that the original divorce act authorized the court, in cases of divorce and of judicial separation, if it were made to appear that the wife, being the guilty party, was entitled to any property in possession or in reversion, to order such settlement of it, or of any part of it, for the benefit of the innocent party and of the children of the marriage, as it should judge best. The court having held that, under the powers granted to it by this act, it could not touch marriage settlements, the authority to do this was conferred by a subsidiary act passed two years afterwards. This is noticeable as almost the only provision of the law which has a moral aspect and looks as if it were intended for the punishment of the guilty party. But the true explanation of it must be, as we think, that the innocent party who had enjoyed advantage, or had expectation of advantage from the other, ought not to be injured by her fault. Thus the law throughout keeps to a cold regard for the civil rights of the parties, and to those alone.

The other point which we wish to notice is this: that by the act in its original form a decree of dissolution took effect as soon as it was pronounced, subject only to an appeal to the House of Lords. But by a statute of 23 and 24 Vict., c. 144, every decree for divorce was made a decree *nisi*, and could not become *absolute* until after the expiration of three months. This period of suspense was extended to six months by 29 Vict., c. 32, s. 3. Or, in other words, the decree was to stand unless within this interval the Queen's proctor, or some other person, could show that it had been obtained by collusion, or that material facts had not been brought into court. Such intervention by persons other than the proctor has been, as Mr. Browning remarks, rare, and is not encouraging. The right of appeal lies to a full court within three months after the judge ordinary has pronounced his decision, and then, within one month, an appeal may be made from the decree absolute to the House of Lords. When these terms shall have expired and a marriage is dissolved, it is lawful for both parties to marry again immediately. In an undefended suit, both petitioner and respondent may marry again after the decree is made absolute.

We have no materials for judging whether the new English divorce law meets the wants of legislation in all respects, and whether, as in some of the United States and other Protestant communities, the door, once opened, may not be opened wider and wider, until almost every serious cause of difference between married parties will be made a ground of dissolution of marriage, and divorces be greatly multiplied by the temptations suggested by the law itself. The liberty conceded to both the parties to marry again as soon as divorce is decreed on account of the crime of one of them, is questionable on moral grounds, we must be permitted to think; it tempts to the commission of a grave moral offence; it places the innocent and the guilty on the same level; it gives one who has entered a family to destroy its peace the opportunity by his crime of forming a legally honorable connection with the partner in his guilt; and in more ways than one it weakens the feeling of the sanctity of marriage which is necessary for the maintenance of all the great interests of society.

*Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century.* By Samuel Davies Alexander, an Alumnus. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1872.)—We must offer an apology for delay in noticing this valuable and highly instructive work—the fruit of patient and loving labor sure of not being rewarded beyond its deserts, and which cannot, therefore, be too early or too widely made known for public appreciation. Mr. Alexander has succeeded in tracing more or less fully the post-graduate careers of 646 out of 894 alumni of Princeton from the year 1748 to the close of the century. The several classes are taken up in their order, and the members of each noticed alphabetically, but of those concerning whom the compiler has failed to obtain any information not even the names are mentioned, which we cannot but regret. To have inserted them in their proper places would have facilitated rendering that assistance which the compiler craves in preparing a supplement to embrace them; and it would have left the work complete even in its incompleteness. However, the biographies are very attractively written, being interspersed with anecdotes personal and historical, which

make continuous reading by no means difficult. Some of the best of these are told of clergymen. Bishop Clagget (1764), for instance, who had a fancy for wearing his mitre on state occasions, was to officiate at the consecration of a church in Alexandria:

"Putting on his robes and his mitre at some distance from the church, he had to go along the street to reach it. This attracted the attention of a number of boys and others, who ran after and alongside of him, admiring his peculiar dress and gigantic stature. His voice was as extraordinary for strength and ungovernableness as was his stature for size, and as he entered the door of the church where the people were in silence awaiting, and the first words of the service burst forth from his lips in his most peculiar manner, a young lady, turning around suddenly and seeing his huge form and uncommon appearance, was so convulsed that she was obliged to be taken out of the house."

Azariah Horton (1770) was the son of a minister of the same name, of South Hanover (now Madison), New Jersey, part of whose will read: "and my further wish is that my negro wench Phillis, and her two sons, Pompey and Pizarro, be sold, the money arising from the sale to be equally divided between my wife and son Foster and daughter Hannah." To the certificate of church membership which James Crawford (1777) received from his pastor, Rev. John Craighead, the year of his graduation, were added these words: "And also he appears well affected to the cause of American liberty." This incident, as Mr. Alexander points out, is an evidence (by no means solitary) of the political preferences of the Presbyterian clergy during the Revolution, and it must be added that in their patriotic leaning they had the support of nearly every Princeton graduate of the time. Among these are to be found names of all degrees of greatness and renown in our national history, and a gratifying number of examples of what Mr. Galton would call "hereditary genius." Richard Stockton, Joseph Reed, Benjamin and Richard Rush, Oliver Ellsworth, Luther Martin, Philip Freneau, James Madison, Aaron Burr, Brockholst and Edward Livingston, are some of the more eminent alumni with whom this generation is familiar; but Princeton had also trained the teachers of Madison and Burr and Hamilton and Wirt. Indeed, it is hard to say if the obscurer names in the catalogue should not stand for even higher services to the country than the most famous. No one of us could name the founders of Dartmouth, Brown, Union, Hamilton, Dickinson—all Princeton graduates; or of the dozen other colleges that Mr. Alexander enumerates in his preface which they either founded or revived. Yet if we consider the formation of the Union to have been the work of a hundred years, ending with the surrender of Lee and Johnston, and if it is true that the schoolmaster carried the day at Gettysburg and Appomattox, these nameless pioneers of the higher education had a part not less noble than that of the framers of the Constitution and the heroes of the Revolution. Certainly they have an equal claim on the remembrance of their Alma Mater.

We presume Mr. Alexander will feel obliged to us for pointing out a few errata which lie mostly on the surface. Page 39: *Sabin's* "Loyalists" should be *Sabine's*. Page 54: "Shipping" should read *Shippen*, and "1749" should read 1754, as will be seen by reference to page 33. Page 66: the date of Dr. Benjamin Rush's death is not given, but as this omission occurs elsewhere where it would seem to have been not difficult to supply it, it may be intentional. Page 316: the sketch of Jacob Lindly would have been improved and corrected by reference to Walker's "History of Athens County, Ohio," p. 258. Walker's notice is in error in giving the year of his graduation at Princeton, but it is probably correct in stating that he became president of the Ohio University in 1808 (instead of 1804) and that he died (Jan. 29) 1857 instead of 1856. Walker, by the way, uniformly spells the name Lindley.

*Studies in the English of Bunyan.* By J. B. Grier. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1872.)—Mr. Grier is a tutor in rhetoric in the college at Easton, Pennsylvania, and this volume informs us of his method in the class-room at the same time that it makes a book having a much wider interest than the common run of text-books. "As I walked through the wilderness of this world," says Bunyan, "I lighted on a certain place where was a den, and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream." Any plan of teaching rhetoric and composition which should set the young men, or the young women either, to the careful studying, sentence by sentence and word by word, of a style such as that, would seem to be a good plan. This is what Mr. Grier has endeavored to do. Taking as his text a few pages of the "Pilgrim's Progress," he divides them into very short portions, and the class being assembled he first calls for the parsing of the sentence, making the pupil find the "predicative combination which is the framework of the sentence"; and what the predicative combination may be, is taught to the benighted boy by a chapter or two of appendix which is adapted from Fowler's English Grammar. The "pre-



dicative combination" and then to the "subject" and "predicate" are fitted the "adverbial combination"—or "adverbial element," as it used to be called in the days of "Greene's Analysis"—the "adjective combination," and so on, after which comes the rest of the grammatical analysis, to show whether the sentence is confused, or complex, or simple. When this is done it is in order to make an etymological review of the sentence, and after the grammatical review and the etymological are concluded a rhetorical analysis follows. A lesson in some good grammar accompanies the instruction in Bunyan. This may seem like elementary instruction for a college; but we doubt if there are many colleges the world over where English is spoken in which instruction quite as elementary would not be exceedingly useful. And outside of colleges the case is of course worse. What senators or representatives write good English? How many large manufacturers aspiring to become governors of States can send neatly and well-expressed replies, to say nothing of grammatical and well-spelled replies, to their business correspondents? How many, indeed, of us whose business it is to write do it decently? We suppose Briareus could count on his fingers all the editors and tutors in English who could sit down to-morrow morning and write like this:

"As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where was a den, and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept, I dreamed a dream. I dreamed, and behold, I saw a man clothed with rags standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked, and saw him open the book, and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he broke out with a lamentable cry, saying, What shall I do?"

Of the state of things inside of the colleges a witness competent to speak of a college which is among the six or seven best in this country speaks as follows. The University of Michigan is the institution in question, Professor M. C. Tyler being our authority:

"There is a stateliness in the name University which is apt to impose upon us with the beautiful hallucination that because a person is inside of so august an establishment, he must certainly be a master of these rudimentary and alphabetic subjects. But this is a sphere in which all illusions are barriers to improvement; and I can think of no better way in which to inform my fellow-teachers of the real condition of English culture among our students, than to give them some samples of the orthographic curiosities which I collect from week to week in the essays and speeches which are laid upon my desk. Here are a few gems which I found glittering in essays written by Sophomores: 'axidental,' 'wrot iron,' 'meny,' 'scientific,' 'tital,' 'imoral crachers,' 'opportunities,' 'lucrative,' 'merchantile,' 'the vast pararies of the west,' 'togather,' 'together,' 'has to pas,' 'perhapse.' I assure my readers that though the above specimens are gems, they are by no means rarities with us. Indeed, the fields referred to are so rich in this form of treasure, that in almost any batch of a dozen essays brought in for examination, I could promise to find jewels quite as many and quite as brilliant. One year I had the curiosity to see what I could collect of this kind from the speeches carefully prepared for Junior Exhibition by members of the classical section of the class, then in the third year of its course; and this was the luck I had: 'ageant,' 'unintelligable,' 'contrairy,' 'plausable,' 'Cipio Africanus,' 'clowd of darkness,' 'faverite.' I will add that the samples now given were taken from the writings of students who have been since graduated; but that the supply is still apparently as abundant as ever.

"What have we a right to infer, with reference to the state of English culture in the University, from the fact that in every dozen essays written by our students can be found so many and such gross examples of ignorance and neglect? May we not conclude that, if the students are capable of such outlandish pranks in spelling, they will be equally heedless in the choice and combination of words, in pronunciation, and in the mechanical execution of manuscript? If it were necessary, I could support the implication which this question suggests by documentary evidence that would be simply overwhelming."

These no doubt are specimens of the English of the lowest quarter of the junior classes of students in a college of wide range. But defective grammar and bad rhetoric are not exceptional in universities of higher rank than that at Ann Arbor. On the other hand, it is of course true that ninety-nine in a hundred of our good writers are bred at the universities. It is because we think this plan of Mr. Grier's a means of breeding more of them that we are glad to call attention to its merits. It is not complete; there are things to be learned in regard to good writing which the Elston tinker did not know, and which, if he had known, he would not have used in the "Pilgrim's Progress." Bunyan is a good writer; so, too, is De Quincey a good writer; and while Bunyan was tagging laces in Bedford jail, Milton was writing in an English style which will be of equal date with his great contemporary's. But hardly anything could be better practice than this minute and thorough study of such English as Bunyan's.

As regards the execution of Mr. Grier's plan, it is no doubt to be remembered that this little volume does not present it in its fulness; and that even though we should have here every word of comment, the instructor who should propose to use it would not the less be compelled to fill out the details of it from his own resources, and would necessarily

depart from his model. We should not agree with all of Mr. Grier's rhetorical remarks, and, perhaps, neither his instruction nor ours would, in the long run, be the worse for the difference, though we should doubtless prefer our own. And, moreover, we should disagree with some of his philology, the chasm becoming widest, perhaps, at the fourth and fifth lines of page 118, if we get the author's sense.

*A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges, founded on Comparative Grammar.* By Joseph H. Allen and James B. Greenough. (Boston: Ginn Brothers. 1872.)—The reaction against the full and minute Latin Grammar of Andrews and Stoddard, or rather against the vicious manner in which that manual has been used in certain quarters, produced some four years ago the little work of Messrs. W. F. & J. H. Allen. But this fell into the opposite extreme of excessive brevity. It did not even contain a full exhibition of the paradigms. Its successive editions, however, which followed each other with quick rapidity, embodied many additions to meet the demands of practical teachers, and these improvements, with the real merit and value of the work, secured for it a wide and growing popularity. The grammar before us is not called, and perhaps ought not to be called, an enlarged edition of the Messrs. Allen's little Manual. Still, Mr. J. H. Allen is one of the joint authors of each of these works, and they are still further identified by having, in the main, the same arrangements of subjects, the same numbering of the successive sections, and, to a considerable extent, even the same phraseology. But we do not find any reference whatever in the later to the earlier work. This may be owing to the very great differences which nevertheless appear between the two. To speak of nothing else, the new grammar contains twice as much material as the old, and this is brought in without any sacrifice of lucidity, and without the introduction of any subjects which should have been omitted. This, of course, greatly increases the value of the book, for it still covers only two hundred and fifty pages, and ought, so far as its size is concerned, to escape the condemnation of those who stand in chronic dread of voluminous Latin grammars. But we think it sufficiently large and complete to answer all the ordinary demands of students of Latin, whether in preparatory schools or in college. We have, to a limited extent, tested the claims set forth in the preface so far as the rules and principles of syntax are concerned, and in each case have found our demand satisfactorily met.

The general methods of the work show sound judgment, and will commend themselves to good and enterprising teachers; for while the authors have not been led by their familiarity with the most advanced linguistic scholarship to depart from the simplicity of their task, they have at the same time made this new grammar peculiarly useful by giving just enough glimpses into the growing field of comparative philology to awaken the curiosity and engage the interest of such boys as give promise of developing any natural aptitude for broad linguistic studies. The substantial contributions to Latin Grammar gathered from this field are used without parade, and in a way to occasion no perplexity to teacher or learner.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Alvergnat (V.), Modern Class-Book of French Pronunciation.	(Schoenhof & Moeller)
Bastian (Dr. H. C.), The Beginnings of Life, 2 vols.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Baumgarten (M.), Der Protestantismus in Deutschland Reich, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Blackmore (R. D.), Clara Vaughan	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Bluntschli (J. C.), Rom und die Deutschen, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
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